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REVIEW.

AN authentic account of an embassy from the king of Great Britain to the emperor of China; including cursory observations made, and information obtained, in traveling through that empire, and a small part of Chinese Tartary: taken chiefly from the papers of his excellency the EARL OF MACARTNEY knight of the Bath, his majesty's ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the emperor of China. By Sir GEORGE STAUNTON, secretary of the embassy, &c. 2 Vols. London, 1798.

DURING the last two centuries, several embassies have been sent from Europe to the emperors of China. The sovereigns of Holland, Portugal, England, Russia, and the popes of Rome, have been represented at the court of Peking. These missions have always been composed of chosen men, fitted out at no inconsiderable expense, and while in progress were objects of universal attention. Concerning their expediency and success, or the reverse, the political world has been fruitful in remark, and has generally differed widely in its conclusions; but in regard to the fact, except it may be in the case of the Russians, that their influence has now nearly or quite ceased to be felt, or is felt only to the injury of foreigners, there is probably

but one opinion. Whatever may have been the objects of those embassies or their effects, immediate or remote, no one of them was planned and executed with more care than the present, which reached Peking in 1793.

“Much of the lasting impression which the relations of lord Macartney’s embassy leave on the mind of his reader,” says an able writer, “must be ascribed, exclusive of the natural effect of clear, elegant, and able composition, to the number of persons engaged in that business, the variety of their characters, the reputation they already enjoyed, or afterward acquired; the bustle and stir of a sea-voyage; the placidity and success which finally characterized the intercourse of the English with the Chinese: the splendor of the reception the latter gave to their European guests; the walks in the magnificent gardens of ‘the son of heaven;’ the picturesque and almost romantic navigation upon the imperial canal; and perhaps, not less, to the interest we feel for every grand enterprize, skilfully prepared, and which proves successful, partly in consequence of the happy choice of the persons and the means by which it was to be carried into effect. The names of Macartney, the two Stauntons, and Barrow, are now familiar to every reader. The emperor Keen-lung lives probably in the memory of every impartial European, at the head of the sovereigns of half-civilized nations. Indeed, since Cook’s voyages, no expedition to a foreign and distant country, has become so popular as that of which we speak.”

The grievances which the English had suffered long at Canton, and the necessity of representing them to the emperor, from whom they were carefully concealed by the local authorities, were among the principal considerations which led to the appointment of an ambassador. Macartney’s secretary, in the work before us, after enumerating the transactions that had caused an “unfavorable impression of the English in the minds of the Chinese,” says:—

“Of all foreigners frequenting the port of Canton, the English were certainly depicted in the most unfavorable colors to the government of the country; and probably treated with the greatest rigor upon the spot. And thus the imperial officers, under whose immediate inspection they were placed, were in little danger of reprehension for any ill treatment of their persons, or impositions on their trade. Their complaints were considered as frivolous or ill-founded; and attributed to a restless and unreasonable disposition. Effectual measures were likewise taken to avoid a repetition of their remonstrances, by punishing such of the natives as were suspected of having assisted in translating the papers which contained them, into the language of the country. The few English, who were in any degree acquainted with that language, being necessarily brought forward for the purpose of communicating their grievances, became particularly obnoxious; and this circumstance contributed to deter others from any attempt to acquire it; and, indeed, to teach it to them was found to be a service of some danger. They were thus under the necessity of trusting entirely to the native merchants themselves, with whom they had to deal; and who found their account in acquiring, at least, as many English words as were necessary for carrying on their mercantile concerns. Besides, the vast superiority of rank, over all merchants, assumed by persons in authority in China, became an obstacle to all social and familiar intercourse between them and the only Englishmen who went there. And, notwithstanding a British factory had been established upwards of a hundred years, not the least approach was made towards that assimilation of manners, dress, sentiments, or habits, which, in similar institutions elsewhere, tends so much to facilitate the views of commerce, as well as to promote the comforts of those immediately engaged in it.

“Under such circumstances, the ancient prejudices against all strangers, always great in proportion as there is little communication with them, could scarcely fail to continue in their full force—those prejudices not only operating upon the conduct of the Chinese, but reduced into a system, supported by the fullest confidence in the perfect state of their own civilization: and the comparative barbarism of every other nation, suggested the precaution of making regulations to restrain the conduct of all Europeans frequenting their coast, as if aware of the necessity of preventing the contamination of bad example among their own people. One port only was left open for foreign ships; and, when the season came for their departure, every European was compelled to embark with them, or leave, at least, the Chinese territories: thus abandoning his factory and unfinished concerns, until the return of the ships in the following year. There was little scruple in laying those restrictions on foreign trade, the government of China not being impressed with an idea of its importance, to a country including so many climates, and supplying within itself, all the necessaries, if not all the luxuries of life.

“Though the natives immediately engaged with foreigners in mercantile transactions, have been very considerable gainers by such an intercourse, the body of the people is taught to attribute the admission of it, entirely to motives of humanity and benevolence towards other nations standing in need of the produce of China, agreeably to the precepts inculcated by the great moralists of the empire; and not to any occasion or desire of deriving reciprocal advantage from it. For a considerable period indeed, there was little demand for European goods at the Chinese markets; and the consequent necessity of paying for the surplus value of their commodities in money, an object so desirable for nations which may often have occasion to remit cash elsewhere, was thought in China, where such a want could seldom occur, to be productive of little other alteration, than to increase the relative weight of the metal representing property; and which increase was considered rather an inconvenience than a benefit.

“With such an opinion of foreign trade, those who presided over it, being indifferent to its progress, and suffering it, rather than seeking for it, there was a very slender chance of favorable attention, or even common justice, towards the strangers who carried it on; especially the English at Canton, who had not the faculty of asserting their own cause upon the spot, and were entirely without support at the capital, where their grievances might be redressed. They were, in fact, subjected to many oppressions in their dealings, and insults upon their persons. They did not however, conceive that such treatment was authorized by the emperor of China, or even known to him; and therefore several of the East India Company's agents employed in the Chinese trade, suggested the propriety of an embassy to his imperial majesty, to represent their situation, in the hope that he might issue orders for the removal of the hardships under which they labored.”***** “It was urged, that a British ambassador would be a new spectacle; and his mission a compliment that would probably be well received. Upon general reasoning, it appeared that every motive of policy or commerce, which led to the maintenance of ministers from Great Britain, at European courts, and even in Turkey, applied with equal strength, to a similar establishment, if practicable, at Peking.”

Besides the ambassador and his secretary, “minister plenipotentiary in the absence of the ambassador,” the mission consisted of the following persons; viz. captain, now sir Erasmus Gower, commander of his majesty's man-of-war, the *Lion*; “young gentlemen, of the most respectable families, glowing with all the ardor and enterprise of youth,” who were admitted into the *Lion*, considerably beyond the customary complement of midshipmen; a military guard, con-

sisting of "picked men," under the command of colonel Benson, assisted by lieut. colonel Crewe, and captain Parish; doctors Gillan and Scot; doctor Dinwiddie and Mr. Barrow, "both conversant in astronomy, mechanics, and every other branch dependent on the mathematics;" Mr. Acheson Maxwell, "who had formerly resided in India with lord Macartney and was much in his confidence;" Mr. Edward Winder, "a young gentleman from the university;" Mr. Henry Baring; a page, (now sir G. Thomas Staunton, but then) "of years too tender not to have still occasion for a tutor;" two Chinese, "perfectly qualified to interpret between their native language and Latin or Italian,"—these were from the Chinese college at Naples; also musicians, artificers, soldiers and servants. To carry out such presents and persons, as could not be accommodated on board the *Lion*, the *Hindustan*, one of the largest company's ships, was appointed; and a small brig, the *Jackall*, provided as a tender. At length, every thing being ready, all those who were to accompany or attend the ambassador, joined his excellency at Portsmouth, from whence they set sail, September 26th, 1792.

Lest the undertaking might, through error or design, be made to assume a warlike or suspicious appearance, and the ambassador's reception thereby be rendered "dubious," an early opportunity was taken of announcing the embassy to the Chinese government. For this purpose, three commissioners were selected by the company, from among their most approved servants at Canton, to whom it was intrusted to communicate intelligence of the intended mission, by delivering a letter to the governor of Canton from the "Court of Directors." In this letter, sir Francis Baring, then chairman of the Court, stated that:—

"His most gracious sovereign, being desirous of cultivating the friendship of the emperor of China, and of improving the connection, intercourse, and good correspondence between the

courts of London and Peking, and of increasing and extending the commerce between their respective subjects, had resolved to send his well beloved cousin and counsellor lord Macartney, a nobleman of great virtue, wisdom, and ability, as his ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the emperor of China, to represent his person, and to express, in the strongest terms, the satisfaction he should feel if this mark of his attention and regard should serve as a foundation to establish a perpetual harmony and alliance between them; and that the ambassador, having several presents for the emperor, from his Britannic majesty, which from their size, and nicety of mechanism, could not be conveyed through the interior of China, to so great a distance as from Canton to Peking, without the risk of damage, he should proceed directly, in one of his majesty's ships, properly accompanied, to the port of Teen-tsin, approaching, in the first instance, as near as possible to the emperor of China."

After visiting several places on his way to China, the ambassador arrived off Macao, June 20th, 1793; there he obtained information that the emperor had given orders, that officers and pilots should be in waiting on the coast to take charge of his excellency's ships and conduct them in safety to Teen-tsin;—concluding his commands in these remarkable words, "*that as a great mandarin had come so far to visit him, he must be received in a distinguished manner.*" Feelings very different from these were cherished towards the embassy, by the officers of Canton, "particularly by the hoppo," whose consciousness of having merited reprehension, always connected in his mind the subject of complaint with the views of the embassy, and every engine in his power was set to work to prevent its success. The governor of Canton was anxious to receive a list of the presents, alleging that "he could not send the letter announcing the ambassador's approach, without transmitting the particulars of it." But this request was not granted.

On the 23d of June, they weighed anchor and proceeded northward, and in a few days arrived in the Chu-san archipelago; there they found a great many valuable harbors—"places of perfect security;" and their ships were supplied plentifully with provisions and thronged with visitors. Several officers

came on board, one of whom was accompanied by a native interpreter, who had formerly been connected in the trade there with the agents of the East India Company: by this man's account, the English had given no just cause of dissatisfaction in that place, though they have been interdicted from it, "through the means, as is most likely, of the superior influence of the officers governing at Canton," who draw large sums from the accumulation of trade in this port.

At Chu-san the squadron had arrived at the utmost boundary of recorded European navigation; the sea from thence northward was wholly unknown, except to those who dwelt in the neighborhood of the shores. After some delay, two native pilots were obtained, and the squadron sailed for the mouth of the Peih-ho, where it arrived near the close of July, and was received by Wan, a military, and Chow a civil officer, and a third person, a Tartar of high distinction, who acted as the principal legate on the occasion. On the 5th of August, the ambassador and his suite quitted their ships, and on board small craft proceeded towards the capital. No slight magnificence was displayed, and no expense seemed to be spared. Ample provision was made for every member of the embassy; almost every vessel connected with it had on board both Europeans and Chinese; and the scene which it now exhibited was truly novel; and the regard manifested towards the present strangers, showed that they were not unwelcome visitors. The mutual interest felt on the occasion, is thus noticed by the ambassador's secretary.

"The approach of the embassy was an event of which the report spread rapidly among the neighboring towns and villages. Several of these were visible from the barges on the river. Crowds of men were assembled on the banks, some of whom waited a considerable time to see the procession pass, while the females, as shy as they were curious, looked through gates, or peeped over walls, to enjoy the sight. A few indeed of the ancient dames almost dipped their little feet into the river, in order to get a nearer peep; but the younger part of the sex generally kept in the background. The strangers on their part were continually

amused and gratified with a succession of new objects. The face of the country, the appearance of the people, presented, in almost every instance, something different from what offers to view elsewhere."

It was announced to the ambassador while at Teen-tsin, that the emperor was at his country residence in Tartary, where he intended to celebrate the anniversary of his birthday, and wished to receive the embassy. This arrangement was pleasing to the strangers, for it would afford them a better opportunity of seeing the country and give them a view of the great wall. The country, as they moved up the river, was remarkably level, and the sky serene; not so much as a hillock was observed by them, until the fourth day after they left Teen-tsin, when some high blue mountains were seen rising from the north-west. These indicated their approach to the capital, beyond which they were situated. On the 16th of August, the yachts anchored within 12 miles of Peking, being then 90 miles from Teen-tsin. Here they left the river and proceeded by land to the capital; to carry them, and their baggage, 90 small waggons, 40 hand-carts, upwards of 200 horses, and about 3000 men were required. The road to Peking is a magnificent avenue, bordered with trees.

Shortly after reaching the capital, attempts were made to extort from the ambassador the promise of making the Chinese prostration: these were successfully resisted, and his own conditions were proposed, *viz*: "that a subject of his imperial majesty, of rank equal to his own, should perform, before the picture he had with him of his majesty (the king of Great Britain), dressed in his robes of state, the same ceremonies that the ambassador should be directed to do before the Chinese throne."—A part of the presents, and some of the members of the embassy were detained at Peking, while the ambassador and the others set out for Zhe-hol (Jee-ho); his excellency rode in an English carriage drawn by four Tartar horses, and was cheered with a "gracious message" from the

emperor, inquiring about his health, and recommending to him to travel by easy journeys, and to be accommodated at the places where he himself usually stopped on his way to Tartary. Their journey northward was agreeable; they had a fine view of the great wall; and on their approach to the residence of the emperor were received with military honors.

Here the question concerning "the ceremony" was again agitated, and was brought before Ho-choong-taung, (Ho-kwan,) the chief minister of state. In the course of this discussion, it was remarked by the ambassador, "that to his own sovereign, to whom he was bound by every bond of allegiance and attachment, he bent, on approaching him, upon one knee; and that he was willing to demonstrate in the same manner, his respectful sentiments towards his imperial majesty." This form of obeisance in lieu of the Chinese prostration, was deemed satisfactory by the imperial court. The attention of the embassy was now taken up in preparations to wait upon the emperor. The presents were carried to the palace, and every thing put in readiness for the occasion; and the 14th of September, three days previous to the emperor's birthday, was fixed on for the particular reception of the British embassy. On the morning of that day, before the dawn of light, the ambassador and his suite went to the palace garden where were several tents, in one, and the largest of which, "his imperial majesty was to receive, seated on his throne, as a particular distinction, the delegate from the king of Great Britain." The emperor's approach, and the introduction of the ambassador are thus described by sir George;—

"Soon after day-light, the sound of several instruments, and the confused voices of men at a distance, announced the emperor's approach. He soon appeared from behind a high perpendicular mountain, skirted with trees, as if from a sacred grove, preceded by a number of persons busied in proclaiming aloud his virtues and his power. He was seated in a sort of open chair, or triumphal car, borne by sixteen men; and was accompanied and fol-

lowed by guards, officers of the house-hold, high flag and umbrella bearers, and music. He was clad in plain dark silk, with a velvet bonnet, in form not much different from the bonnet of the Scotch highlanders; on the front of it was placed a large pearl, which was the only jewel or ornament he appeared to have about him. On his entrance into the tent, he mounted immediately the throne by the front steps, consecrated to his use alone. Ho-choong-taung, and two of the principal persons of his household were close to him, and always spoke to him upon their knees. The princes of his family, the tributaries and great officers of state being already arranged in their respective places in the tent, the president of the tribunal of rites conducted the ambassador, who was attended by his page and Chinese interpreter, and accompanied by the minister plenipotentiary, near to the foot of the throne, on the left hand side, which, according to the usages of China, so often the reverse of those of Europe, is accounted the place of honor. The other gentlemen of the embassy, together with a great number of mandarins and officers of inferior dignity, stood at the great opening of the tent, from whence most of the ceremonies that passed within it, could be observed. * * *

“The broad mantle, which as a knight of the order of the Bath the ambassador was entitled to wear, was somewhat upon the plan of dress most pleasing to the Chinese. Upon the same principles, the minister plenipotentiary, being an honorary doctor of laws of the the university of Oxford, wore the scarlet gown of that degree, which happened also to be suitable in a government, where degrees in learning lead to every kind of political situation. The ambassador, instructed by the president of the tribunal of rites, held the large and magnificent square box of gold, adorned with jewels, in which was enclosed his majesty's letter to the emperor, between both hands lifted above his head; and in that manner ascending the few steps that led to the throne, and bending on one knee, presented the box, with a short address, to his imperial majesty; who, graciously receiving the same with his own hands, placed it by his side, and expressed “the satisfaction he felt at the testimony which his Britannic majesty gave him of his esteem and good-will in sending him an embassy, with a letter and rare presents; that he, on his part, entertained sentiments of the same kind towards the sovereign of Great Britain, and hoped that harmony should always be maintained among their respective subjects. * * *

“His imperial majesty, after a little more conversation with the ambassador, gave, as the first present from him to his majesty, a gem, or precious stone, as it was called by the Chinese; being accounted by them of high value. It was upwards of a foot in length, and curiously carved into a form intended to resemble a sceptre, such as is always placed upon the imperial throne, and is considered as emblematic of prosperity and peace. The Chinese etiquette requiring that ambassadors should, besides the presents brought in the name of the sovereign, offer others on

their own part, his excellency, and the minister, or as the Chinese called him, the inferior ambassador, respectfully presented theirs; which his imperial majesty condescended to receive, and gave in return others to them."

His imperial majesty appeared perfectly unreserved, cheerful, and unaffected during the interview, which was considerably lengthened by interpreting whatever was said by either party. The emperor, advertng to the inconvenience arising from such a circumstance, inquired "whether any person of the embassy understood the Chinese language; and being informed that the ambassador's page, a boy then in his thirteenth year, had alone made some proficiency in it, the emperor had the curiosity to have the youth brought up to the throne, and desired him to speak Chinese. Either what he said, or his modest countenance, or manner, was so pleasing to his imperial majesty, that he took from his girdle a purse, hanging from it for holding areca nut, and presented it to him."

After these ceremonies were over, some Hindoo ambassadors from Pegu, and some Mohammedans from the neighborhood of the Caspian sea, were introduced to the emperor on the right side of the throne; they repeated nine times the most devout prostrations, and were quickly dismissed. A sumptuous banquet was then prepared, and the European guests allowed to feast with his imperial majesty, who "graciously" sent them several dishes from his own table: when the repast was over, the venerable monarch called his visitors round him, and "presented with his own hands to them," a goblet of wine. "He asked the ambassador the age of his own sovereign; of which being informed, he immediately replied, that he heartily wished him to equal himself in years, which had already amounted to eighty-three, and with as perfect health. He was indeed yet so hale and vigorous that he scarcely appeared to have existed as many years, *fifty-seven*, as in fact he had governed the empire. When the festival was entirely over,

and he descended from the throne, he marched firm and erect, and without the least symptom of infirmity, to the open chair that was waiting for him."

After this the ambassador and his suite had opportunity of visiting the imperial "gardens or pleasure grounds," and of joining in the celebration of the emperor's birthday; on which occasion the number of troops assembled, was about eighty thousand, and the number of officers about twelve thousand. But the time had now arrived for the embassy to return; it left Jec-ho on the 21st of September; traveled back upon the imperial highway; and made its re-entrance into the capital with "usual honors." Shortly afterwards the emperor returned to Peking; inspected the presents; and called a council of his ministers to take into consideration the letter from the king of Great Britain, and to deliberate on the mode of proceeding proper to be used towards his subjects. An answer to the letter of his Britannic majesty was soon prepared, and, with "*farewell* presents," in due form transmitted to the king's "well beloved cousin and counsellor." With the receipt of these, Chinese etiquette required that the embassy should cease; nor could any personal communication afterwards take place with the emperor. Accordingly, on the morning of the 7th of October, the embassy left Peking; on the 19th of December, arrived at Canton; and on the 17th of March 1794, quitted the shores of China.

Such was the progress of an embassy, which was carried forward with greater splendor and ability perhaps than any other mission that has ever visited the court of China. And what did all this pageantry and talent achieve? What melioration of grievances did it effect? It was a mere visit of ceremony. The advantages gained, or supposed to have been gained, may be summed up in few words. While the ambassador was at Canton, the governor *promised* him that "no obstruction should be given on the part of government to the acquisition

of the Chinese language by foreigners." In his "good disposition to protect the English," his excellency was confirmed by late dispatches from the emperor, in which his imperial majesty expressed "how welcome the return of an English minister to his court would be to him." The governor added, "out of another letter from the emperor, that as he meant to resign his crown on the completion of the sixtieth year of his reign, 1796, "he should be glad to see such minister by that time, or as soon afterwards as might be convenient. Thus the embassy, according to the expectations which led to the undertaking, but contrary to the prospects which clouded it sometimes in its progress, succeeded at length, not only in obtaining permission, but receiving an invitation, for a similar intercourse with the court of China, whenever the government of Great Britain and the company shall deem expedient to renew it." How this contemplated "intercourse" has been sustained, during the forty years which have now elapsed, we need not undertake to tell; suffice it to remark, that, in a commercial point of view, none are more interested, and none are likely to succeed better in their intercourse with the Chinese, than Britains.

In concluding this article, we cannot do better than to quote the words of one who had long resided at that capital, and who was thoroughly acquainted with the court of Peking. He says, that "the Chinese have no other idea of an embassy, than that of a visit with presents, on some solemn festival, and to last only during the continuance of the latter; that accordingly, of the many embassies sent to them in the past and present century, none of them were suffered to pass that period; that in the present reign, the ambassador of the Portuguese, the most favored nation, was dismissed in thirty-nine days; that the Chinese *have little notion of entering into treaties with foreign countries*; but that whatever business it might be desirable to transact with them, must, after a favorable foundation for it, laid by the compli-

ment of an embassy, be afterwards prosecuted to effect by slow degrees, for that much might be obtained from them by time and management, but nothing suddenly."

MISCELLANIES.

SPANISH RELATIONS WITH THE CHINESE, VIEWED IN CONNECTION WITH THEIR EASTERN POSSESSIONS. We were wrong in our last number, in saying that Spanish ships are excluded from the port of Canton; such is not the case. The Spanish flag, as well as those of all other European nations except Russia and Portugal, is allowed to enter the *tiger's mouth*, or the Bogue. In fact, not one of all the nations of Europe, enjoys so great privileges in China as the Spanish; having liberty with the Portuguese to trade at Macao, and access also to the ports of Canton and Amoy. But while they have enjoyed these advantages on the one hand, the Chinese on the other, have been treated by them with more rudeness and severity, than any other people. And why are the Spaniards allowed advantages which are denied to other nations? And why suffered to maltreat and oppress as they do, the subjects of the celestial empire? "*It have old custom,*" is the answer usually given by the Chinese to the first question. In reply to the second, it may be remarked, that the paternal kindness of the Chinese, so often applauded by themselves, never extends beyond the boundaries of their own empire; "those who go away from their country, are in the highest degree unfilial, and deserve the severest chastisement." This government seems to be wholly indifferent to the welfare of those of its subjects who go abroad to other countries.

That the Chinese authorities are not entirely ignorant of the situation of their countrymen at Manila, we infer from the well-attested fact, that the system which they have long been endeavoring to impose upon foreigners here, has been borrowed from the Spanish government. We are informed on the very best authority, that Pwan-ke-qua, the father of a late well-known senior hong merchant, and grandfather of him who now bears the same name, having had occasion to visit Manila, saw there the harsh treatment inflicted on the Chinese in order to keep them in subjection, and marked it as a 'model and motive' to be acted on, after his return to Canton. He was a man possessed of considerable influence in regard to all measures concerning foreigners; and the restrictions on their privileges, which he caused to be introduced, have been gradually becoming more severe, since the middle of the last century.

But notwithstanding the privileges of the Spaniards in this country, they actually carry on a less amount of trade with the Chi-

nese, than most of the other nations which frequent these shores. In addition to their other advantages, their possessions in the east give them facilities for commercial intercourse with the Chinese, far better than are enjoyed by any of the other nations of Europe. To be thoroughly convinced of this fact, we need only look for a moment at 'the kingdom of the Philippines,' which is the property of the crown of Spain. A small volume entitled "Remarks on the Philippines, and on their capital Manila," published in India in 1828, will supply us with much information relative to our present subject.

"Of the numerous groups of islands which constitute the maritime division of Asia, the Philippines, in situation, riches, fertility and salubrity, are equal or superior to any. Nature has here revealed in all that poets or painters have thought or dreamed of the unbounded luxuriance of Asiatic scenery. The lofty chains of mountains, the rich and extensive slopes which form their bases, the ever varying change of forest and savannah, of rivers and lakes, the yet blazing volcanoes in the midst of forests, coeval perhaps with their first eruption—all stamp her work with the mighty emblems of her creative and destroying powers. Java alone can compete with them in fertility; but in riches, extent, situation and political importance, it is far inferior." Their position is strikingly advantageous. "With India and the Malay archipelago on the west and south, the islands of the Pacific and the rising empires of the New World on the east, the vast market of China at their doors, their insular position and numerous rivers affording a facility of communication and defense on every part of them, an active and industrious population, climates of almost all varieties, a soil so fertile in vegetable and mineral productions as almost to exceed credibility; the Philippine islands alone, in the hands of an industrious and commercial nation, and with a free and enlightened government, would have become a mighty empire: they are a waste!"

By a census taken in 1817-18, their population amounted to 2,236,000 souls. Only a few hundreds of these are Europeans; the remainder are Negroes, Malays, Mestizos, and Creoles. "The negroes are in all probability, the original inhabitants of these islands;" they are small in stature, woolly headed and thick lipped; they subsist entirely on the chase, or on fruits, roots, herbs, or fish; they are often nearly or quite naked, and live in huts. Sometimes however, they form villages in the deep vallies, and sow a little maize or rice.

The Malays, or Indians as they are called by the Spaniards, appear to have emigrated to this country at different times, and from different parts of Borneo and the Celebes. Those of the provinces are all "a proud-spirited race of men; and such materials, with proper culture, would form the foundation of all that is great and excellent in human nature; "but for three hundred years they have been ground to the earth with oppression; they have been crushed by tyranny; their spirit has been tortured by abuse and contempt, and brutalized by ignorance." It is not

here meant to accuse the Spanish laws; many of them are excellent, but these are rarely enforced, or if they are, delay vitiates their effect. That this country, the most favored perhaps under heaven by nature, should have remained till the present day almost a forest, is a circumstance which has generally excited surprise in those who are acquainted with it, and has generally been accounted for by attributing it to the *laziness* of the Spaniards and Indians; but this is a superficial view of the subject; the true reason why so little improvement has been made by the inhabitants of the Philippines is, "*because there is no security for property.*" Does an unfortunate Indian scrape together a few dollars to buy a buffalo, in which consists his whole riches? Woe to him if it is known; and if his house is in a lonely situation, he is infallibly robbed. Does he complain, and is the robber caught? In a short time he is let loose again, to take vengeance on his accuser, and renew his depredations. Hundreds of families are yearly ruined in this way.

The imperfect mode of trial, both in civil and criminal cases, lays them open to a thousand frauds. While the civil power is thus "shamefully corrupt or negligent of its duties, the church has not forgotten that she too has claims on the Indian. She has marked out, exclusive of Sundays, above forty days in the year, on which no labor must be performed throughout the islands. Exclusive of these are numerous local feasts in honor of the patron saints of towns and churches." These feasts are invariably, after the procession is over, scenes of gambling, drinking, and debauchery of every description. Thus they unsettle and disturb the course of their labors by calling off their attention from their domestic cares; and by continually offering occasions of dissipation, destroy what little spirit of economy or foresight may exist among so rude and ignorant a people. Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, the writer of the "Remarks" before us in summing up the character of the Indian, says, "He is brave, tolerably faithful, extremely sensible to kind treatment, and feelingly alive to injustice and contempt, proud of ancestry, which some of them carry to a remote epoch; fond of dress and show, hunting, riding, and other field exercises; but prone to gambling and dissipation. He is active, industrious, and remarkably ingenious. He possesses an acute ear, and a good taste for music and painting, but little inclination for abstruse studies. He has from nature excellent talents, but these are useless for want of instruction. The little he has received, has rendered him fanatical in religious opinions; and long contempt and hopeless misery have mingled with his character a degree of apathy, which nothing but an entire change of system and long perseverance will efface from it."

Under the name of mestizos are included by the author of the book, not only the "descendants of Spaniards by Indian women and their progeny, but also those of Chinese, who are in general whiter than either parent, and carefully distinguish themselves from the Indians. The mestizos are, as their names denote, a

mixed class, and, with the creoles of the country, like those of all colonies, when uncorrected by an European education, inherit the vices of both progenitors, with but few of the virtues of either. Their character has but few marked traits; the principal ones are their vanity, industry, and trading ingenuity: as to the rest, money is their god; to obtain it they take all shapes, promise and betray, submit to every thing, trample and are trampled on; all is alike to them, if they get money; and this, when obtained, they dissipate in lawsuits, firing cannon, fireworks, illuminations, processions on feast days and rejoicings, in gifts to the churches, or in gambling. This anomaly of action is the business of their lives. Too proud to consider themselves as Indians, and not sufficiently pure in blood to be acknowledged as Spaniards, they affect the manners of the last, with the dress of the first, and despising, are despised by both." Such are the three great classes of men which may be considered as natives of the Philippine islands. The creole Spaniards, or those whose blood is but little mingled with Indian ancestry, pass as Spaniards. Many of them are respectable merchants, and men of large property, while others are sunk in all the vices of the Indians and mestizos.

The government of the islands is composed of a governor, who has the title of captain general; a lieutenant governor; and the supreme court, which is also the council, and is composed of three judges and two attorney generals. The financial affairs are under the direction of an *intendant*, who may be called a financial governor. Commercial affairs are decided by the *consulado* or chamber of commerce, composed of all the principal, and in Manila, some of the inferior merchants. The civic administration is confined to the *ayuntamiento*, which is composed of two alcaldes, twelve regidores or aldermen, and a syndic; these enjoy very extensive privileges, approaching those of houses of assembly. The civil power and police are lodged in the hands of a corregidor and two alcaldes; to the corregidor are subject the Indian captains and officers of towns, who are annually elected by the natives. The provinces, twenty-nine in number, are governed by alcaldes, "the determined enemies and the real oppressors" of the Indians.

The ecclesiastical administration is composed of an archbishop (of Manila), who has three suffragans, two on Luconia and one on Zebu. The revenue of the archbishop is 4000, and that of the bishops, 3000 dollars annually. The regular Spanish clergy of all orders are about 250; the Indian clergy are in number from 800 to 1000.

Until very lately, these rich islands have been a constant burden to the crown of Spain, money having been annually sent from Mexico to supply their expenses. The establishment of the monopoly of *tobacco* has principally contributed to supply this deficiency: "the sales of this article amount more or less to \$1,000,000 per annum." Another of these monopolies is that of *cocoa wine*, a weak kind of spirit produced from the juice of the toddy tree, *Borassus gomutus*,

and from the nipa, *Cocos nypa*; of this large quantities are used by the natives, the net revenue to government varying from 2 to 300,000. The poll-tax, with some variations and exceptions, is \$1 $\frac{3}{4}$ for every married Indian, from the age of 24 to 60; the mestizos pay \$3, and Chinese \$6 each. The customs produce from 1 to 300,000 dollars per annum. The remaining part of the revenue is derived from minor sources, such as cards, powder, stamps, &c. The government maintains a tolerably efficient military and marine establishment.

The agriculture is but in its infancy. The soil is in general a rich red mould, easily worked and very productive. Frequent rains, and numerous streams and rivers, add to its extraordinary fertility. The country is seldom afflicted with droughts, but is at times devastated by locusts. The buffaloes are used in all field labor; and the horse which is very small, but hardy, is only employed for riding. Rice and cane grow plentifully; "the indigo plant is very fine;" coffee and cotton are cultivated but only to a very limited extent. Timber is excellent and plentiful. Their forests are not infested with those ferocious animals which are the terror of the other Asiatic countries. Serpents, however, attain an enormous size; the largest are those of the *Boa* genus. The supply of minerals is "inexhaustable."

The merchant of Manila, according to Comyn, who wrote in 1809, is "entirely different from the merchant of other parts of the world; he has no extensive correspondence, no books, or intricate accounts; his operations are confined to a shipment of bales to Acapulco, and to receiving the silver in return; and in forty years, only one or two instances have occurred wherein bankrupts have been able to produce a correct set of books to the chamber of commerce." But says our author, "they are now much improved, and though not excessively enterprising, are better acquainted with the true principles of commerce." We need not detain the reader here with any account of the funds employed in their trade, or of that deep rooted jealousy which the Spaniards of the Philippines long cherished towards all that is not their own. Since 1800, however, foreigners have been gradually admitted, and they have supplied the wants of the country by introducing European articles, and carrying off surplus produce, when a sufficient quantity could be procured to employ their capital. The whole number of vessels which entered the port of Manila in 1827 was eighty-three; of these, 34 were "*nacionales*," and 49 "*extrangeros*;" and of these latter, nine were from the ports of China, north of Canton. In 1818, the number of foreign vessels was fifty-two: articles brought in these ships were cambries, woolens, silks, printed cottons, wines, spirits, birds' nests, tortoise shell, wax, teas, dollars, etc. An active coasting trade is carried on by the natives among the islands, though they suffer dreadfully from pirates.

"A most serious drawback," among other hindrances to the commercial prosperity of the Philippines, "has been the negligence

or ignorance, or both, which have prevented the establishment of bonded warehouses, or a system of drawback duties on re-exportations. A glance at their position, and the consideration of the monsoons, will convince any one, that this was of all things that for which ample provision should have been made; and it would be no exaggeration to say, that this commerce would in a few years have increased tenfold with China alone, had this plan been adopted. The enormous duties and vexatious spirit of the Chinese government, together with what must often be the case, the fleecing combinations of the hong merchants, would long ago have driven away every vessel from their ports, could *another* have been found near enough to insure a supply of goods, which from the enterprising spirit of the Chinese, could not have failed. *Manila is this port.* * * * It would be foreign to the object of a cursory sketch, like the present, to enter further into the details of the subject. Enough has been said to bear out an assertion, which those who are acquainted with the trade will not think exaggerated, that had this system been fairly and equitably established, one half of the trade to China, would before this, have centered at Manila; and it is only at Manila that the advantages of such a transit could have been unknown or neglected in the nineteenth century."

We have followed our author much further in detail than we at first intended; and we have done this solely in consideration of the interest and importance of the facts which he narrates, and which, generally, are fully corroborated by a manuscript account written in 1830. If in a single instance we have deviated at all from the truth, it has been unintentional; we owe the Spaniards nothing but good-will; and we deeply regret that they have turned to so bad account the privileges which they have enjoyed, and contributed, as they certainly have done, to raise and strengthen the barrier which has separated China from the rest of the nations. The Philippines were discovered by Europeans early in the 16th century, and received their present name in 1543. They were shortly after visited by the Chinese, whom the Spaniards have always, from that to the present time, regarded with jealousy and treated with hostility; sometimes interrupting their commerce or expelling them from their territories, and sometimes slaughtering them in great numbers.

Note. Since the above was in type, a friend has informed us, that he thinks the warehouse system, which our author recommends, has been established.

Free Trade with the Chinese.

A VARIETY of documents have lately been received from Europe relative to the affairs of India and China; the latter of course are the most interesting to this community, as they contain the policy proposed to be pursued in regard to our trade with this place, which is the broad principle of *free commerce*.

In adopting this principle, ministers have no doubt been influenced by the public feeling, and the growing aversion to exclusive preferences in any shape. The stationary nature of British commerce with China had long attracted public attention, and the opinions of the day are the growth of many years. The rapid increase of the Indian trade, contrary to the affirmations and asseverations against the possibility of it, established a conviction of the fallacy of the views taken by the company's servants, even by the most talented of them. But the most influential fact with regard to China, was the glaring circumstance of other nations, particularly the Americans, becoming the carriers of Europe, which the company did not partake in, and which they would not abandon to free British shipping. Another fact no doubt operated, namely, that the export of manufactures by the company did not supply the wants of China, and that the trade fell into foreign hands to the exclusion of British shipping and capital.

It has been judiciously remarked by a friend, that the committee of foreign trade of the House of Lords in 1820, was formed in all probability with regard to India, for the purpose of giving the East India Company an opportunity of conceding that to the nation, which was not available to themselves. Such an act would have been viewed in a liberal light by the British community, and any reasonable extension of their charter would have been conceded in return. Fortunately they did not avail themselves of it, or we might have been obliged to wait five or ten years longer for that which now appears almost within immediate attainment.

The British trade with China is now becoming the property of the free merchant; and how we may avoid past errors, and turn it to the best advantage is a very important consideration. With regard to the new regulations of the trade we know little; nor do ministers appear to have fully made up their minds. As the press of Canton has attracted their attention, a casual hint that local knowledge may give, may not be entirely without its use.—And first, a short view of our early connections with China, and of the advantage or otherwise of our policy, may not be altogether superfluous.

The British nation, after a long series of intercourse, remains on as unsocial a footing as ever. The reverse of what takes place in the usual intercourse of nations, has resulted from ours with the Chinese. The intolerant nature of the Chinese government repels every nation from intercourse, and submission has tended to widen the distance, by increasing their contempt of us. The early contentions between the Portuguese and Dutch, and subsequently with ourselves, most materially deteriorated European character in their estimation. Hence has arisen that arbitrary conduct, and that insolent language, which has since been so strictly adhered to. It has at length become habitual, and firmly grafted on their habits and feelings; nor has there been any thing in our policy calculated to raise us in their estimation.

The prejudice against foreigners is even extended to those of their own nation who trade with them. The hong merchants seem to be in some measure out of the pale of the law that protects others; and to be exposed to extortion, which is not applied to the Chinese people generally. The delivering up of the gummer of the Lady Hughes, and the conduct of admiral Drury, have confirmed this feeling; and many other acts, in common with these, have tended to establish more firmly the prepossessions against us.

The magnitude of the British trade has been brought forward as tending to give weight to the national character; but the facts upon which this assumption is founded are at best but of a negative kind. Passing over previous disputes, we come to that of 1829; which is remarkable as being different from all others, inasmuch as in all former disputes we were put on the defensive; in this we took an opposite position, and gave the Chinese to understand, that unless they complied with our wishes, we declined to trade with them. The influence of British commerce was fairly brought into the scale and found wanting. The most that could be obtained were a few minor concessions; and British influence has at no time ever extended beyond this. In fact, we do not appear to have emerged at any time from that character, which we had early fixed upon ourselves; and we continue to be considered as poor foreigners and traders; which character has been fatal to any social, or more elevated, intercourse.

It has been more than once suggested, that the appointment of consul being given to the chief British authority, would add to his weight and consideration here. But it seems to have been entirely overlooked, that such an appointment could have no influence in overcoming long established prejudice, created by our early acts, and confirmed by the failure of our more recent ones. Nor is it reasonable to think that any honorary appointment could be comprehended by the Chinese; at least to an extent that should be able to overcome the prejudice of years. As difficult would it be to convince an enlightened Englishman of the day, that an educated and talented merchant or supercargo, *is not fit* company for a peer or a prince, as to convince a Chinese that a foreign trader, *is fit* company for a mandarin of even ordinary rank.

It is the failure of not knowing ourselves, in our relative position with regard to the Chinese, in which all our errors are grounded. It is in vain that we know, and feel, that we are gentlemen, and engaged in a profession equal with those that rank the highest, if there be an alloy in the sight of others, that we cannot overcome or dissipate. In short, we possess a tainted character with the Chinese, and until our government raises it by just and efficient measures, we must confess our fault, and have our sins ever before us. By so doing, we shall avoid, at least, past errors and incongruities. Let us take one for example; no doubt can be well entertained, that our embassies should never have come to Canton, and associated with resident merchants and supercargoes of the place. What could be more incongruous to Chinese notions, than

to see poor merchants and foreigners mixed up with a great mandarin authority, the representative of his celestial majesty's *equal*? What impression could the Chinese receive, when they saw their own classification of extreme ranks, the antipodes in fact, so jumbled together, that it was utterly impossible to form any true notion respecting the embassy, or reconcile its component parts with each other, or with their own ideas of reason and common sense? They might well ask the question whether it came from the company or from the king. They could not possibly avoid having some misgivings, and even having suspicions of a surreptitious attempt to impose on them. Whatever may have been their precise notions, the embassy was evidently deteriorated below mediocrity; and its treatment marks the fact.

This has been more particularly dwelt upon, as it is the *ignis fatuus*, that has allured us into error, and by a full knowledge of which we can alone act more skillfully in future, and avoid the folly of attributing to ourselves, an influence that we possess only in a very limited degree. Let us not run, however, upon Charybdis or refuse ourselves honor where honor is due. A trade of magnitude, such as the British trade to Canton, or the company's taken separately, whether conducted by an individual, or by a body, must always have weight and influence; but the *degree* must mainly depend upon the talent and ability, with which either the one or the other conducts the trade; it being necessary to form a just estimation of the weight of such influence, and not to apply it beyond its just powers, and thus render it inefficient, which has been one of our past errors.

But this species of influence when applied to a government can at best be but of a minor nature. The only thing that has raised our character above its debasement, and created an influence with the Chinese, is the conduct of our men-of-war. They indeed have established a character which makes the Chinese tremble at the knowledge of their approach: no considerations have induced them to submit to any thing, that was not due to their own high characters, and the honor of their sovereign's flag. The Centurion, the Topaze, the Alceste, may be named as having created a real influence with the Chinese, distinct and elevated, far above that which may be supposed to arise from the magnitude of our trade. Their conduct has produced a distinct notion of British *mandarin* authority, weighty and uncompromising, a power distinct from commerce, the very opposite of a submissive temporizing character.

Nothing can more strongly mark the low ebb at which we stand, than the means we are obliged to employ to obtain redress for any grievance of importance; namely, by assembling in large bodies and by forcing our way into the prohibited city; and nothing can be more offensive to the Chinese authorities, where the forms of gravity, order and sobriety are so strictly kept up. Yet so firmly are their prejudices fixed, that they will not listen to the milder means that are generally, in the first instance, resorted to through the hong merchants. They permit themselves to be tumultuously

bearded by those they accustom themselves to despise; and thus allow an example of insubordination, which if followed by the people would be fatal to themselves and their government. For it is well known that the Tartar dynasty floats upon a smooth, but dangerous sea, and that its existence depends upon the habit of tranquil obedience to their authority. Sensible of this, the high authorities view with abhorrence any thing, however remote, that savors of perturbation; yet obnoxious as it is, they submit to it, rather than deviate from their fixed habits of haughtiness and contempt.

We in fact as merchants have little influence, and it appears little short of absurdity to have supposed that any honorary title could in any way, elevate those whose rank and situation are essentially mercantile. But under existing circumstances, some authority will undoubtedly be appointed; and the first essential object is, and undoubtedly will be, to keep him distinct from any thing like a commercial character. It matters not what his designation be; whether consular, or some higher title be selected; but it is important that it be distinct, and invested with authority and rank which the Chinese should distinguish as mandarin authority, that is authority emanating directly from the king. The objection is unimportant that has been urged with regard to the Chinese recognizing him; on necessary occasions, whenever broils may take place, his coming forward for the object of adjustment will virtually involve recognition.

The great difficulty that presents itself, is that of keeping the authority, whether diplomatic or consular, in that elevation that it is requisite he should hold with relation to the Chinese; for it is evident he could only enter into intercourse with the governor or hoppo, or at least with officers of the highest rank.

A chamber of commerce will in all probability remedy this inconvenience; at least, no other at this moment suggests itself to our minds, and it might perhaps be so formed, as to exist in contradistinction to the co-hong, if composed, as we suppose it must be, of the resident merchants of the place; and no doubt can be entertained of the efficacy of the consultations of talented and educated men, inspired by a common interest. The co-hong would then be balanced by the chamber of commerce, and arrange with them in all matters of trade; the king's authority holding himself superior to either, and admitting of no equality but with the governor or hoppo.

A species of authority might then be established; the parties might be invested with civil and criminal jurisdiction; determine disputes about wages and engagements, &c., and try the misconduct of sailors. Such powers would tend materially to prevent disputes. A jury might be formed, composed of eaptains, officers, merchants, &c.; and the authorities empowered to administer prompt punishments. Such acts might be made consistent with British law, and have weight and effect with the Chinese authorities.

Although a government authority is recommended, it may be observed, that the China trade could be conducted by the establish-

ment of a chamber of commerce, without any intervention on the part of government, except as may be required for its formation, regulation, and protection. Such a step would be the slightest possible removal from the past system, and would much resemble in character and functions, the company's committee of supercargoes about to expire. The free trade of China would in a great measure be left to itself, in its first efforts, after *emancipation* from past trammels. It must certainly be admitted to be a reasonable experiment, which if failing, government would have the power of stepping in when they might deem it expedient.

Some regulations might be formed for its guidance of a general nature, and the president instructed from time to time to inform government of its proceedings: it might adopt the routine of the select committee and continue their records. This view is suggested by the perusal of the proposed changes contained in Mr. Grant's letter to the secret committee of the 12th of February 1833, in which an open trade to China seems fully determined upon. It would leave the free traders to themselves for a time, that the "patient, thrifty, dexterous assiduity of private and untrammelled enterprize" might have full scope.

It is not probable that men possessing these qualities would be content with or be confined, like the company, to Canton as the object and the end of their views; nor would they in all probability leave so noble a field as China, accessible only through one port. Their untrammelled enterprize will advance to other ports, nor stop until it has passed the coast of China, traversed the Yellow sea, and put to the test the repulsive patience of the Koreans and Japanese. Past traders may ask, "why should they do all this, and force upon a government that which they wish to avoid taking," and which they ought to add, "the *people* are too willing if possible to receive?" Surely no *morale* will be urged against it. For they have notoriously supplied a deleterious drug, and collaterally aided its introduction into a country where it is expressly prohibited. We cannot for a moment presume to contrast the introduction of goods and wares which contribute to the comforts and happiness of the people, with the introduction of that which enervates and destroys. It is not intended, there is no wish to speak disrespectfully; but it has been repeatedly asked, what right have we to force a trade which the Chinese government object to; and that we have no right has been urged against the extension of commerce by free traders. Should this argument however have any weight, it falls infinitely heavier upon the introduction of a prohibited and objectionable article, than upon those which are recognized by law, and admitted under regulated duties; yet this smuggling trade bears manifest indications of what untrammelled enterprize can do. Ten or twelve years ago 6000 chests supplied the market; now 22,000 is about the amount annually consumed. If you ask a Chinese the cause of this extraordinary increase, he will answer in his crude way, "China has got too much people."

The countries above mentioned, as well as China, have been a dead letter heretofore to our commerce; by breaking up the monopoly, a chain is destroyed that bound these beautiful provinces and kingdoms together, and excluded British enterprize from operating upon them. In destroying this barrier, it is no hyperbole to say "the Pyrenees are removed." Populous countries are laid open to us, and the first great political step is taken, to make these countries administer to the comfort, and form a part of the social system of nations.

Great as the expectations are which the China trade holds out, we are met at the threshold, by a confirmed antisocial system, so fixed and stubborn, that it has hitherto resisted all endeavors to overcome it. These endeavors it is true have been ill adapted to the end; and some, so insignificant and puerile as to have rather confirmed than eradicated existing evils. The means of evading, of mitigating, or of overcoming this obnoxious, repulsive system are forcibly thrust upon our consideration. The question is one of no small difficulty; it embraces a variety of considerations, often contradictory, and attended with all that entanglement, which invariably results from a highly civilized nation's coming in contact with one replete with notions of the highest barbarism, and where no standard, like the law of nations, can be made to apply equally to both.

Briefly as it is proposed to treat this question, it must be done somewhat seriatim, that the subject as a whole may be brought to our view; and first let a chamber of commerce be spoken of.

This, while it gives consistency and weight to the deliberative acts of merchants, forms a court or committee of record; its character would be so quiescent, that it could be considered only as a continuance of our past passive system, and at the same time, leaves the free merchant at liberty to follow his own plans. Certainly to see the British free merchant, with his principles of free intercourse, stimulated by the hope of personal advantage, struggling to overcome the obstinacy of a people, (it should be government, for the people are decidedly with us,) inspired with the most opposite sentiments, will be a sight at once singular and instructive.

The process if successful, can be but slow and progressive; and if it be found inefficient, or of doubtful success, it must be admitted that it is the first and the most natural position in which to place the two parties. And it may be asked, short of the application of force, what power has England to put in action, equal to the energy of the commercial spirit, or likely to act so constantly upon the repulsive character of the Chinese government?

It may be objected, that the field has been open to the Americans, and that they have not availed themselves of it. This objection, with one or two others, is more specious than solid. The Americans have not been a manufacturing nation, their operations with China have been exclusively those of commerce; but the English are not alone commercial, there are other principles of impulse more powerful than commerce, which may be said to over-

rule, and constantly propel it. These are our capital, our manufacturing interest, our power-looms, which cry out "obtain us but a sale for our goods, and we will supply any quantity." It is evident therefore, that no comparison can be made between America and ourselves, in any way bearing upon the question; with this propelling power constantly in action, and operating upon China, there will be a stimulus existing, which the Americans will be in want of, and which changes the essential quality of this question.

There appears to be something substantially proper, in the present state of things, in leaving our merchants to their own tact and ingenuity. Yet it is subject to the great objection, that it leaves unamended the real evils of past times; and we should advance nothing towards putting our commerce and revenue on a more secure basis; for our revenue and commerce are inseparably united. No one can doubt their magnitude or importance, yet they rest upon the most transient, insecure foundation. Mr. W. S. Davidson, in his reply, 6344 of evidence, says very truly, "that complete prohibition of trade with foreigners is unavoidable, sooner or later under our present undignified system, and earlier under an open trade unquestionably." Some of the acts of this undignified system have been already noticed.

Although a governmental authority has been spoken of, and in some measure recommended, we must not shut our eyes to the position he will be placed in, supposing him to have simply a passive character; the difficulties and disadvantages of which are not of a common nature.

Let it be supposed that all intervening difficulties are overcome; that a king's authority is recognized by the Chinese as having complete control over British interest in China, and in communication, (as he should be,) with the governor and hoppo, a supposition most gratuitous; but it will serve to illustrate the position in which he may be placed, and probably would be placed, by the cunning diplomacy of his antagonists.

The first acts of the free traders after the Canton market became glutted, would be to press their way into other ports, and it may be said infest the ports of China; a circumstance that would not fail of alarming the Chinese authorities, and they would turn to the king's authority to put a stop to it. To act upon such a requisition, would be to destroy that extensive field that is now opening to our commerce: the officer would find himself in an awkward dilemma. He would be obliged to refuse any interference in the suppression of a trade, which the Chinese would represent as being against their fundamental laws, or should he be induced to acquiesce, he would destroy one of the most valuable advantages likely to arise from our open trade.

They might then demand the suppression of the opium trade. This exists under prohibitions so severe that little doubt can be entertained of the desire of the Chinese government to suppress it, and no doubt as to the duty of the authorities so to do; who, (such is their venality,) protect it, and receiving bribes for the same, it

may be said, obtain a revenue by connivance. This illicit commerce is so interwoven with our financial system in India, as well as with our commerce, that it is not inferior in importance to the revenue obtained from tea at home. These two points are sufficient to show the case put. They would seize these to argue upon, place themselves upon the vantage ground, and refuse any concessions until we had complied with their laws. In what a position then would an authority be placed. He could only have put himself in communication with the Chinese (at least the case is supposed,) by the representation of the equitable character of the sovereign, whom he represented, and by his own disposition to be guided by justice and equity in his transactions with them. Yet he would find his pretensions and professions invalidated by demands, so grounded in law and justice, that they could not be with reason refused, but as assuredly they could not be complied with.

It is useless to enter into any notice of the many arguments that might be used to repel these demands, or of the casuistry that might be employed; the main facts after all, would remain the same; namely, that any confidence that might be obtained, would be destroyed, and his office reduced to a dead letter.

Such are some of the difficulties, and they are of no small magnitude, which a governmental authority would have to encounter, could he effect an impossibility or what at present may be considered as such, i. e. insinuate himself into a communication with the head authorities of Canton. Hence it is a question, whether such a position is desirable or could be made beneficial. A chamber of commerce, acting simply in the affairs of trade, and not having or presuming to have, any delegated authority, seems somewhat preferable also, from the circumstance, that no new character would be introduced to alarm the Chinese, and that the present British residents are quite equal in point of talent and numbers to form themselves into one. They would be equal in point of unity and influence with the select committee of the company, and perhaps superior as combining a greater number of interests.

In this short review of the probable position of a passive authority, (and some only of the inconveniences have been pointed out,) it will appear, that the appointment would be of little practical utility, little or nothing could be effected by him, and absolutely nothing, towards placing the British subject free from the oppressions, annoyances and insults, to which he is daily exposed in common with those occurring under the select committee. These evils have not, nor can they be adequately described. The major ones, are not only great, but the minor ones are perpetual and incessant. The free spirit must one day recoil against one class of injuries or the other, under the present state of things, and the minister of England would be wrong, not to expect to receive by every dispatch, the account of some formidable rupture, and his scheme of finance, to the amount of some three or four millions, involved.

If an authority therefore be placed in China, he must be an efficient one, and vested with powers of no ordinary nature; as being placed in a position that may force him into a state of war in spite of his best endeavors to the contrary; nor indeed, should our valuable commerce and revenue, both to India and Great Britain, be permitted to remain subject to a caprice, that a few gun-boats laid alongside the city would overrule by the discharge of a few mortars. The governor and hoppo would soon find that their freaks of fancy were no longer the pastime they used to be, and that it was not prudent to provoke those who were willing to be their friends, merely that they might gratify their assumed superiority, and exhibit their contempt of us to the common people.

The result of war with the Chinese cannot be doubted, but reflection will suggest, whether more apprehension is not to be entertained of the fatal consequences that would attach to China itself, should the spark of war once be lighted, by the internal revolutions it would create without any extrinsic aid, than doubt of what would be effected by ourselves, should we be driven to that extreme.

Putting aside for the present, this deeply important consideration, we will consider it merely in the abstract, and rather as it relates to ourselves than to them. Hostilities with China are of the most anomalous nature; as the slightest application of them, may produce the effect required, or force us into all the extreme operations of war. That we shall one day be coerced into it, we take for granted. It is unreasonable to expect that we shall be less exposed than heretofore, and it is utterly impossible that aggression can be overlooked; nor indeed is there any cause that it should be. When we reflect that our intercourse has been put in abeyance, for refusing to deliver up individuals, demanded for no other object than for immolation, we must revolt against the idea of its future recurrence. The case of the American is the last instance; he was delivered up on the promise that justice should be rendered; the next morning he was strangled. Acts of this nature, possessing their own peculiar features of aggravation cannot but involve hostility.

Our position would then be this; we must succeed, or fall infinitely below our present level:—having passed the Rubicon we must proceed to Rome, or lose the empire. Another admiral Drury's affair would be fatal to us, from the effects of which we have not yet recovered, notwithstanding the more recent spirited conduct of our navy. In short, we might be obliged to establish an embargo on their shipping about Canton, or extend it to the whole coast, or cut off their communications by the great canal, or land an army of fifteen or twenty thousand men in the Yellow sea, and obtain a substantial commercial treaty under the walls of Peking.

But we must first ask, are there not objects far more worthy of contending for, than the port of Canton; and ground much better

adapted to contend upon, than that, situated at the extremity of a great empire? These questions must both be answered in the affirmative. The past traders to Canton, it is true, have confined their attention to that place, and abandoned ports we once possessed to the eastward. Under existing circumstances, (always referring to Mr. Grant's letter,) "the Pyrenees are removed," our views become less bounded. The question is no longer of Canton, but of China entire; from a minor object, we turn our eyes, as it were, to the rising sun.

We must then repeat, that China entire, a coast of 1600 miles, with a dense population among whom British manufactures have not yet obtained an entry, is the more worthy object of our attention. And when we consider, that this may be obtained, with no greater efforts; no greater exertions, no greater tact, than is necessary to obtain the commerce of a provincial town of the empire, Canton diminishes in magnitude and importance.

Taking then this enlarged object, as the proper landmark upon which to direct our efforts, Canton should no longer be the base of operations, be they of negotiation, of peace, or of war. As we proceed, other causes will be shown, why this locality should cease to be the point *d'appui*, and why this point should be transferred to the seat, or the centre of the empire.

An admiral's station should therefore be selected. For the sake of resting upon some point, let Ning-po be adopted, or the adjacent island of Chusan. This locality is well known; it is fully described by the foreign missionaries, by Du Halde, and was formerly the station of a British factory. This place is mentioned for the sake of removing us from Canton. But close and minute investigation may show, that a position more northward, about the great promontory of Shantung, might be more desirable, or perhaps a station near the mouth of one of the two great rivers. The latter position would command the great artery of internal commerce—the grand canal; a circle of 100 miles diameter, containing within its circumference six to eight of the largest and richest cities of the empire.

Hostilities, and the impossibility of avoiding them, have been already touched upon; and it is now requisite to enter into some brief notices on this point. It must however be premised, that wanton or inconsiderate hostility would never be tolerated by a British parliament, nor is it consistent with the moral or political feeling of the people of Great Britain; much less would we presume to offer any remarks tending to such an end. This observation is requisite, that any following ones may not be entangled or deteriorated, and to mark the fact and circumstance, that when we speak of hostility, it is under the supposition, that it has been forced upon us, and that more than adequate cause has been given.

Our navy must always form a prominent feature with regard to China, not only from its own pre-eminence but also from the accessibility of the Chinese coast. The effect produced by the

uncompromising conduct of our men-of-war has already been noticed; their power has never failed to overawe the Chinese whenever duly exerted, and to produce upon them the most remarkable effect. The succumbing to the spirited conduct of the *Topaze* and *Alceste* is sufficiently illustrative of the fact, not to require any additional force from comment. The company, in their negotiations with government, have repeatedly set forth the influence of their servants in China, which they only possessed to a limited degree, and may almost be said not to have possessed at all; whatever did or does exist, with regard to the British nation, we owe to the spirited conduct of our navy. It has been before observed of them, that no considerations of a less elevated character were ever permitted to interfere with the honor of the British nation and the royal flag.

That the Chinese are sensible of their incapacity and weakness, we have many proofs; witness their solicitude to get the shipping from their shores which conveyed hither our embassies. In fact, the empire is at present in so crumbling a state, that they dread danger beforehand, and fear the slightest external symptom, that might ruffle the torpid calmness of their government. That we have been most unwittingly, and ignobly the creatures of their policy, cannot fail to gleam upon us, perhaps with a blush, as we investigate; for we must remember that we have suffered insults of no small magnitude. That they have skilfully played their game cannot be doubted; but the range of our vision is now extended, and we must acquire juster perceptions and retort their own game upon them.

We ourselves must practice upon their fears, and change the current that has so skilfully been set against us; and instead of prohibiting our ships of war from appearing, instead of soliciting that no men-of-war should approach China, let them rather be invited to show themselves; there are certainly ample objects of nautical pursuit for the employment of our ships of war in the China and eastern seas. These have hitherto been forbidden regions, for which no good reason can be assigned, unless monopoly fears may be considered as such. In the employment of them in the various services that may be suggested, they should visit the Chinese ports, in the same way as those of civilized nations, and claim the same respect and attention that is due to his majesty's flag; on all occasions making due allowance, as to form, but nothing to the want of respect that is due. Conceding everything to courtesy, but nothing to arrogance and insult.

The presence of our cruisers would sufficiently alarm them, however friendly might be our conduct, nor is it desirable that it should be otherwise. It might probably invert the past order of things, and oblige them to be the complainants. They might first refer to Canton. If a chamber of commerce were there, they could only answer, as the select committee have only been able to answer, that a mandarin ship was above them, and beyond their control. Urged by their fears they might send an address to

the viceroy of India. One thing we might look to with certainty, that with such companions on the coast they would not proceed to any extremity, or touch the trade of Canton. In short, we must establish a new base of operations, by the formation of a flag station; and that base should be about the centre of the coast of China, or nearer to Peking.

The appearance of our ships on the coast of China, whether of war or of commerce, would be received and repelled, by two conflicting dispositions;—they would be received with joy and satisfaction by the great mass of the Chinese population; they would be opposed and repulsed by the mandarins or officers of government with a more dominant power. A deep and distinctive line must be drawn between the nine-tenths of the Chinese population who delight in the exchange of civilities, and enjoy themselves in social intercourse; and the remaining tenth, who form the mandarins, or Tartar officers of government of all grades; whose study it is to maintain the rule, that has obtained against foreigners, and to enforce it upon the people.

Yet it must not be hastily inferred that the mandarins or officers of government are averse to intercourse. The provincial ones are materially benefited by it; there is not a single office about Canton that has not its price, which is paid for, by extortion from foreigners. New ports of trade would open advantages which Canton is now usually known to possess. Hence their cupidity is strongly tempted, and there is no doubt of their willingness to relax. But they are withheld by the espionage of mandarins of the court, who would readily avail themselves of the slightest opening to charge them with negligence of duty in regard to foreigners, that they might displace them, and again sell their posts.

This manifests strongly the necessity of drawing nearer to the court. It is at the fountain head that we must turn the current into the proper channels. To negotiate at Canton, and for Canton, would be a waste of time, and of no practical utility. The Chinese government will be as much at ease, as if we communicated from England. Create apprehensions from without, approach the capital, and we shall have attention from within; until then, little shall we do with the Chinese; then, much may be hoped for. These remarks may appear to have little to do with hostilities, the subject we proposed speaking of; but it must be remembered what is here spoken of, is a sort of *hostilities demonstrative*, and would be so considered by the Chinese; hence, they would have a more powerful effect: when we come to speak of negotiation, their value will become more clear.

The flag ship was supposed to be established in the port of— with her cruizers; the most valuable would certainly be our small sloops of war and flat bottomed gun-boats. It will be seen by reference to the maps, that the admiral would possess, by means of the Hwang-ho and other rivers, facilities for operating upon the grand canal and cutting off the supplies of Peking. It is scarcely necessary to notice the magnitude of the consequences that would

result from such an act, and its overwhelming effect upon the capital of the empire.

An embargo would be a minor and more preparatory act. Yet in this we are struck with its weight, as affecting the Chinese. At once is brought to view the whole of the Chinese coast, studded with boats, craft, and junks, the feeders of the empire. These are totally unprotected, and even the stoutest among them, unable to contend with the meanest of our cruisers. It is difficult to find terms to express adequately the disparity between what is Chinese and what is European with regard to the military and to the navy. One small brig of war, may be considered equal to the mightiest of their junks of war; one battalion as equal to any 10,000 men they could produce. As to military numbers, in a most serious recent rebellion, they are said not to have been able to produce more than 15,000 men in the field, although their muster roll, like that of their population, is enormous. It is not pretended that this is any just estimate, it is merely to render our vague notions less indefinite. Of the effeminate character of the Chinese, both physical and moral, few can have, without some local knowledge, any just idea; and this effeminacy singularly agrees with their social habits, and trafficking dispositions.

An embargo would carry with it consequences the most weighty. That we should ever be driven to it, by the unimportant causes, that will one day lead to it, cannot but be a matter of deep regret; and when we consider its effect upon a portion, and an extensive portion, of an innocent population—feelings both of justice and humanity loudly call upon us, to suffer no considerations, of a less generous nature, to prevent us from devising the means of averting so inhuman a recourse. Our interests with this nation have become too mutual to be easily severed; too valuable to be left upon the present basis of caprice and chance; too capable of extension to be treated with monopoly indifference; and above all, too susceptible of being placed upon a substantial basis of mutual interests, not to demand the most serious and immediate attention of government at home for the common benefit of both empires.—With all possible respect, it may be asked, shall one of two great exclusive barriers which the Chinese have erected, be permitted to exist for ever? The Tartars, in centuries gone by, passed the great wall of China, and seated themselves upon the throne; that wall now remains, but an eternal monument of Chinese cowardice and imbecility. Yet the invisible one of prejudice, the wall constructed by a tithe of the people, still towers in all its strength, and the enlightened nations of Europe,—the British who pride themselves upon their intellect, who would scorn to be called dupes, crouch nevertheless to its influence, and it may be said, worship the edifice they have contributed to erect.

But to return; an embargo would intercept their supplies of fish, rice and salt, destroy a large portion of their tribute and revenue, and carry distress to the inmost recesses of the empire.

Our brigs of war, intercepting these articles from the islands of Hainan and Formosa, the granaries of the adjacent provinces, would act so forcibly upon the wants of the population, that no government could withstand the calls that would arise from it. It is very doubtful indeed, whether an army of 15,000 to 20,000 men, acting upon Peking, could produce a more influential effect. Yet such a body of troops, efficient and disciplined, it is maintained, would overturn the dynasty and the empire; from which opinion few, who can judge, will be found to dissent. To what point force should be directed is subject to a variety of opinions; the fertile island of Formosa has been suggested; secondly, the seizure of the island of Lantow; thirdly, the cession of Macao from the Portuguese.

All these propositions seem liable to the same general objection, that any one of these steps would equally excite the jealousy of the Chinese;—we could not even obtain the cession of Macao, without producing that effect. After all, what advantage would it be, placed as it is at the extremity of China? Yet it has been seriously spoken of for years past, as a step that would relieve us from the arrogance of the Chinese. In a political or commercial point of view, no advantage could be derived from it whatever. It would in fact, remove us from the facilities of trade; the Chinese would in all probability interdict any island that may be taken, and leave us to our own plans, as they did recently until we chose to adopt their system.

To take an island therefore from the Chinese, is but to open Pandora's box upon ourselves, without the chance of obtaining any remunerating benefits; it would attract their displeasure without enabling us to obtain one advantage over them. It is manifest, that on the employment of force, to direct it upon the centre or the capital of the kingdom, would be by far the most efficacious; the moral influence of such a step will readily be seen, compared to that of acting upon an isolated point, or an extremity. Puerile indeed does appear the idea of influencing a great empire by the seizure of one of their petty islands; it has been fledged under leaden wings, and scarcely rises above the atmosphere of Bæotian dullness.

To close all further remarks with respect to hostilities, it may be sufficient to observe, that of all the nations of the east, not one is so removed from a military character as the Chinese; and there are advantages with regard to China as a military field, that we are not accustomed to meet with in the east, arising from soil, climate and locality. Any body of men rendezvoused at Singapore by the end of March, would have six months of fair monsoon for action. Twenty days would carry them to any port of the Chinese dominions. There, a climate healthy and salubrious would attend them, cultivated and fruitful provinces would facilitate their operations. No forests or impervious jungle would impede their course, or destroy by premature sickness their numbers, as in the recent Burmese war.

Passing from the military to the moral of the Chinese character, two feelings may be said to overrule all others with regard to foreigners. These are *arrogance* and *fear*; the one dictates the assumption of superiority, the other creates the policy of expulsion. With regard to the British, fear may be said to be, since the Burmese war, the prevailing sentiment; other causes have doubtless contributed, but this has had the most overpowering influence with them. Burmah has been the grave of more than one Chinese army, and they are by them considered as formidable and warlike. In the late war, the Chinese fully predicted our defeat; the opposite result rendered their astonishment the greater, and the full conviction of our power could no longer be driven away; and this impression may be considered as universal throughout the empire.

Under these impressions our attention should be fixed upon negotiation; and it has been to come at this important point that we have been obliged to wade through the foregoing details somewhat scriam:—between demonstration in its most qualified forms, and the application of force, lies this vast and extensive field. It is here that diplomacy has full scope, proceeding firmly but with caution, supported by a navy ostensibly engaged in scientific pursuits, the Chinese feelings of haughtiness and insult would be half put in abeyance. The king's authority could neither be treated with the flippancy, or the insolence to which past embassies have been subjected. It would not be a first repulse that would dishearten him, or nullify his powers. He would be a resident either afloat or ashore; every repulse would be but a signal, to renew in some other shape the object of his mission; our cruizers visiting their ports, would sufficiently alarm them, and supplied with able interpreters, a communication with the authorities would follow, mutual explanations would result, their apprehensions would be gradually allayed, and an armed force would be found to have no other object than peace; each communication would rapidly pass and repass to Peking; at length they would find that their ease and security were alike consulted, by complying with views of moderation and reciprocity. This is yet untried ground, and loudly calls for due consideration, as containing in it objects of the last importance to British interests.

In these remarks it has been the object, rather to put forth the various considerations that the subject suggests, than to advocate any particular one. But certainly our opinions do predominate on the humane side, namely, that by bold demonstrations through our cruizers, followed up by negotiation through a commissioner, we might arrive at arrangements with the Chinese government mutually beneficial, without any violation of justice, or any act of hostility, and by it avoid being driven to acts of violence, which will admit of no compromise. By firmness and decision we can certainly attain all that we have a right to require, without resorting to any of those extreme alternatives, which have been brought forward, but to complete the general picture of our relative positions; and as we fully prepare for that last alternative, the first steps

become more efficient to effect the object. Undoubtedly, negotiation has not been fairly tried, and rational and substantial grounds do exist for bringing it to a successful issue.

It is with reluctance that the acts of past times are referred to, as the censure they call for, may bear an invidious interpretation; yet let any one take up a collection of Chinese edicts with regard to foreigners, and after perusing them ask himself, (for to judge fairly, we must apply the case to ourselves,) whether as an Englishman he does not feel degraded in his own estimation by the epithets applied to him. Let a minister ask himself, whether the dignity of his country or of his sovereign, is consulted by permitting a nation, whom we might crush in a grasp, to draft their official language, in terms the most offensive that can be selected, and by allowing his sovereign's picture to be insulted. Is it humane or just, to permit those British merchants whose trade contributes so greatly to the revenues of Great Britain and India, to be exposed to every species of degradation, while they effect this great object? To be spurned as barbarians and bearded with appellations, nothing short of ignominious? To be deprived of every social enjoyment, of every domestic comfort, and pent up in a space to which the king's bench is a domain? Why has this obtained? Simply because the authorities at home, anglo-monopoly, as they have been, were content to be underlings.

But relieved from this incubus, will the spirit of the British nation permit the continuance of such a course, feeling as they will, that both the Chinese nation, and themselves are endowed with a reciprocal disposition in regard to commerce, the former being chained down only by the dominant power of their Tartar conquerors? For, we must once for all dismiss the prevalent jargon, which so erroneously confounds the people of China with their Tartar conquerors. These are separate and distinct, in interests and sentiments, and are in every way opposed to each other: this truth has been smothered in common with many other indigested facts with regard to China. But to the British people, and we trust, to our executive, the dawn of conviction will arrive; that the moment we assert our national dignity, from that moment, the great barrier that has been permitted to rise, will cease to exist. One great obstacle, the monopoly, by the hands of Mr. Charles Grant has received its "coup de grace;" what others remain will we trust be as powerless as the great wall itself, which a daring nation, with a handful of men, for centuries past, has cleared; and set at nought both it and its constructors.

This fact, among many others which history records, is one that shows the inapplicability of the principles of civilization to any practical object, in their adaptation to a barbarous, or to a demi-civilized people. To take the law of nations as a rule with a nation where, no knowledge of it exists, at best seems idle. With regard to China, Corea and Japan, its operation has been, and still is, to exclude us from a valuable commerce, except under restrictions and contumely, as disgraceful to us, as inconsistent

with reason and common sense. Cautious ourselves of violence that we would not endure, they have attributed our forbearance to any cause, but the proper one; and we have permitted them to doze in error, when one rude shock would have aroused them to a sense of it, and placed us at once upon an equal footing of social intercourse. One mistake produced another, until the very reverse of the opinion, that would have arisen with a civilized nation, was produced upon this barbarous one.

Let us now take a fact. A barbarous nation, the Tartars, despising treaties and the great wall, have seized the destinies of China, and ruled it with an iron hand. We, with our principles of forbearance, have been fixed in a corner of China; ourselves insulted, our fellow subjects unjustly slaughtered, and insult and contumely showered upon us most unsparingly. Far be it from any one, to deprecate our humane forbearance, or to praise the iron severity of the conquerors. But reason and impartiality will ask the question, and we trust, our countrymen at home will ask the question, has not the principle on our side been carried to an obnoxious extent? Has not their purity been sullied by the return that has been made? Has not the nation been disgraced by its extreme humiliation in the face of insults of the grossest nature? Has not the Chinese commerce of Great Britain been purchased with the blood of the gunner of the *Lady Hughes*? Has not his immolation up to this day, remained unavenged? Have we not been told by the Chinese, that blood for blood is the law of their empire, and have we not submissively subscribed to it? It matters not to tell, be it in Gath or in the streets of Askelon, that all this was under an anglo-monopoly, and that the British nation has no concern with it; the feelings of Englishmen will respond in spite of them, "there is the smell of blood still."

What reason existed, where this and other sanguinary laws were practiced upon us, that we should not have arranged our civil and commercial relations? Will any reasonable man maintain that there was not sufficient cause for insisting upon it, *coute qui coute*, or that the same causes do not now exist? If the monopoly were an impediment to the vindication of our national honor, it is the more necessary, the moment we are removed from its tarnishing influence, that we should lose no time, in setting ourselves right with posterity, and wiping off the sordid fact, of having purchased our commerce with the blood of a fellow subject. The past, the present, and the future demand it, for each day but exposes us to fresh liabilities. Such then, has been the result, of applying the principles of civilization to a barbarous people; they have acted conversely to our intentions, and to their ordinary course; they have thrown back ignominy upon ourselves, and disgraced our nation's character; and so they will for ever act until our policy is adapted to the character of the nation with which we deal.

The success of any operation with regard to China, be it to redeem the past or establish the future, must depend mainly upon the authority selected; one high, not in rank, but in talent. In

him, should all authority be invested, alone, without council or control. When the important powers that must be placed in an authority are considered, the tact it would require, and the value of the objects to be attained, it may be fairly said that a consular designation does not correspond with the high nature of the functions that would be delegated; nor would that of ambassador be more appropriate, but some term should be adopted corresponding to a general designation of the various powers entrusted to him.

The basis of his demands should be an open trade with China, for which, the edicts of Kang-he would form the incipient argument. That emperor threw the whole of the ports of the empire open to free trade in about 1680, and they continued so till about 1720, when a mandarin represented to the emperor that Europeans were a dangerous and turbulent race; which assertion, the folly of the missionaries but too much justified: they absolutely harrassed the Chinese beyond the bounds of ordinary forbearance, with their speculative doctrines; and commerce was made to pay the debts of ecclesiastical arrogance.

It would too much detail this subject to touch upon the other various points that would follow this leading claim founded upon past records. What we would insist upon, should be well digested, and firmly adhered to, when once determined upon. Our authority would find, when he had once established a reputation of moderation and of determination, that he had not taken the task of negotiation in vain. The scrupulous deportment of past embassies should be wholly laid aside; submission to etiquette and forms would produce no advantage, but must be considered as defeating the objects intended to be gained. A diplomatic Petruelio would be far preferable, who to tame his wayward wife, insisted that black was white, the sun the moon, confounded the order of things, and who overruled all by the defiance of all, yet preserving due decorum even in the torrent of his passion. Such a character would be infinitely better than one eringing to forms, which as he submitted to them would be multiplied ad infinitum.

We now close these remarks. It must forcibly strike any one, that a king's authority, possessing less powers than those of the most confidential description would be a nullity. In 1829, the company put forth all their direct and latent powers; and it must be recollected that at home they have repeatedly set forth their influence; yet they were incapable of obtaining any effectual remedy for their grievances; they fairly measured their strength with the Chinese and were found wanting; they put forth all their direct and collateral influences, passive or negative as they were, that can ever be brought to bear upon the Chinese government. Should they be wielded by consular or royal authority, nothing more could be exerted or brought into action. Therefore, if powers beyond this and entire responsibility be not given," it is only necessary to repeat our first quotation "*laissez faire*," under the auspices of a chamber of commerce.

Yet the field is a noble one. A late minister has had the merit awarded him of calling the Western World into existence; certainly the one who directs his energies upon China, Corea and Japan, which with great propriety may be called the *terra incognita* of the east, has not a less glorious field; and to call these countries into social and commercial existence, would be an act not less elevated, and of much greater value, as affecting the interests of Great Britain, and her possessions in the East.

Macao, 1833.

A BRITISH MERCHANT.
(Formerly of Canton.)

The foregoing document, concerning *free trade with China*, came to us accompanied by a note in which our correspondent says, "a friend of mine, who lately departed from China, left with me the accompanying manuscript, to make what use of it I pleased. It is carelessly and diffusely written, and contains a good deal that there is room to dissent from, but withal has some hints which I think valuable. If you think it would suit the pages of your Repository, I should like to see it in print; and would feel obliged by your making such curtailments and corrections as may be considered necessary and desirable." As the subject discussed is one of considerable interest and importance, as well as difficulty, we have preferred to give the paper entire. We do not however vouch for the correctness of all the positions taken and the arguments advanced by the writer, who shows himself, on most points, well acquainted with his subject, and handles it with much ability and fairness. We may advert to the paper again, but we will now only add a short paragraph from the speech of Mr. C. Grant before the House of Commons, on 13th last June. He said,

"With regard to the trade with China, that should be free. The public voice had decided that question. Commerce had been struggling under the trammels which confined it, until at last it had broken through them and it became necessary to do away with the restrictive system. The exclusive privilege of the trade with China upon every ground must now be considered to have arrived at its natural termination. The Chinese were a sensible, jealous, and capricious people. They were despotic and arbitrary, and there might circumstances occur that would excite a collision between them and this country. Year after year brought news to that most sensitive and suspicious people of the great and important victories obtained by the company. The emperor had forbidden, on good grounds, the trade in opium, and the late viceroy at Canton had legalized it by a duty. Now it was proposed to send out persons, armed with considerable authority, to represent the British at Canton. It would be unwise, he thought, to have any previous negotiation with the Chinese authorities. The trade with China, under the charter of the East India company, would terminate in April, 1834."

THE CHINESE KO-TOW. "What are called ceremonies, sometimes affect materially the idea of equality. They are not always mere forms and nothing else, but speak a language as intelligible as words; and it would be just as conclusive to affirm, it is no matter what words are used, words are but wind, as to affirm, it is no matter what ceremonies are submitted to, ceremonies are but mere forms, and nothing else. Some ceremonies are perfectly indifferent; as whether the form of salutation be, taking off the hat and bowing the head; or keeping it on and bowing it low, with the hands folded below the breast; these, the one English, and the other Chinese, are equally good. There is, however, a difference of submission and devotedness expressed by different postures of

the body; and some nations feel an almost instinctive reluctance to the stronger expression of submission. As for instance, standing and bending the head, is less than kneeling on one knee; as that is less than kneeling on two knees; and that less again than kneeling on two knees and putting the hands and forehead to the ground; and doing this once, is in the apprehension of the Chinese, less than doing it three times, or six times, or nine times. Waving the questions whether it be proper for one human being to use such strong expressions of submission to another or not; when any, even the strongest of these forms, are reciprocal, they do not interfere with the idea of equality, or of mutual independence; if they are not reciprocally performed, the last of the forms expresses, in the strongest manner, the submission and homage of one person or state to another: and, in this light, the Tartar family now on the throne of China consider the ceremony called *san-kwei kew-kow*, thrice kneeling, and nine times beating the head against the ground. Those nations of Europe who consider themselves tributary and yielding homage to China, should perform the Tartar ceremony; those who do not consider themselves so, should not perform the ceremony.

“The English ambassador, Lord Macartney, appears to have understood correctly the meaning of the ceremony, and proposed the only alternative, which could enable him to perform it; viz. a Chinese of equal rank performing it to the king of England’s picture. Or, perhaps, a promise from the Chinese court that should an ambassador ever go from thence to England, he would perform it in the king’s presence, might have enabled him to do it. These remarks will probably convince the reader that the English government acts as every civilized government ought to act, when she endeavors to cultivate a good understanding, and liberal intercourse with China; but since, whilst using those endeavors, she never contemplates yielding homage to China, she still wisely refuses to perform by her ambassador, that ceremony which is the expression of homage.

“The lowest form by which respect is showed in China at this day is *kung-show*, that is, joining the hands and raising them before the breast. The next is *tso-yih*, that is, bowing low with the hands joined. The third is *ta-tseen*, bending the knee, as if about to kneel. The fourth is *kwei*, to kneel. The fifth is *ko-tow*, kneeling, and striking the head against the ground. The sixth, *san-kow* striking the head three times against the earth before rising from one’s knees. The seventh, *luh-kow* that is, kneeling, and striking the forehead three times, rising on one’s feet, kneeling down again, and striking the head again three times against the earth. The climax is closed by the *san-kwei-hew-kow*, kneeling three different times, and at each time knocking the head thrice against the ground. Some of the gods of China are entitled only to the *san-kow*; others to the *luh-kow*; the teen (heaven), and the emperor are worshiped with the *san-kwei-kew-kow*. Does the emperor of China claim divine honors?” See Morrison’s Memoir, p. 142.

BENDING THE KNEE.—Chaou-tun-she, one of the censors has complained to the emperor, that in the courts at Peking a spirit of servility is creeping among the officers, which is manifested by some of them, who ought to stand erect when they see others, now *bending the knee* and wishing them repose. They are also accused of receiving *too-e*, emblems of prosperity such as the emperor sent to the king of England. The latter part of the accusation, which was leveled at some of the emperor's kindred, the censor, before the court of nobles which investigated the case, could not substantiate; and he himself is subjected to a strict, or rather *severe* court of inquiry.

PRIDE AND HUMILITY.—* Poor, mortal man has always been disposed to arrogate to himself authority and honors, which belong only to Him who rules above, and before whom all "nations are as a drop of a bucket, and are counted as the small dust of the balance;"—yea, they are as nothing, and are counted by him as less than nothing, and vanity. For he "hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand, and meted out the heavens with a span, and comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighed the mountains in scales, and the hills in a balance." As the desires of man are not bounded by earth, his ambition can never be satisfied with short-lived, earthly glory, which passeth away like the flower of the field. The conqueror, satiated with earthly glory, regards all the titles which this world can bestow as not sufficient to portray his dignity; his ambition reaches up to heaven, and the frail child of clay claims relationship with the sun, moon, and stars. But he stops not here even; he proclaims himself *lord* of those luminaries. Reason smiles at this presumption; philosophy pronounces it absurd; and pure religion stigmatizes it with eternal infamy. Alas, how many mortals have arrogated to themselves divine honors, and sought to be *deified* here on earth and adored as gods by their fellow men.

These facts afford the most decisive proof of our apostacy, and constrain us to confess that we have been in league with the great destroyer of good. Clad with celestial glory, far above many of his compeers in heaven, he fell by his abominable pride. Cast down to the realms of darkness for his transgression, he now seeks to seduce our race, and lead them to offend by a similar exhibition of pride and vain glory. He has declared himself lord of this world, and promised that whosoever will fall down and worship him, shall share with himself the glory and the empire of it; and man, proud man, with equal ambition, seeks for universal sovereignty.

These are not the idle strains of dark demonology. Alas, men have given too much proof that they are under the influence of the prince of darkness. Though his power is invisible and little acknowledged—yea, even ridiculed and denied, his sway is wide and powerful; and if the omnipotent God did not set bounds to his influ-

* From a Correspondent.

ence over mankind, they would act the part of demons towards each other, and by perpetual contests for supremacy, would desolate the earth. But to fathom the machinations of this power of darkness is beyond our ability. The fuel of ambition is in our hearts; Satan throws in the spark, and the fire becomes unquenchable. Our responsibility however, is not lessened on this account; we are warned to flee from this arch fiend; and if we resist him, God will deliver us from the power of darkness and translate us into the kingdom of his dear Son. The fruit of this spirit of darkness is ungovernable pride; the fruit of Christ's spirit is deep humility. Unless the human mind is reduced to obedience to Christ, we may never expect to see men truly humble before God.

The more enlightened a nation becomes, the less will be the pageantry of royalty and the desire to assume higher honors than belong to man. The more uncultivated the mind and the more addicted to idolatry, the greater is the danger of giving way to the idle fancy of usurping divine honors. We read of a Babylonian monarch who caused himself to be deified and worshiped. The millions who obeyed the sovereign of Persia, were all the slaves and worshipers of their king. Even Alexander, though he had received a Grecian education, could forget himself so far as to wish to receive divine honors. Many of the Roman emperors were foolish enough to permit their statues to be adored, and finally made a law requiring this impious worship of every citizen of the empire. Could there be an instance of more gross idolatry than this? A whole nation, composed of men whom we honor for the soundness of their judgment, and the many noble qualities which they possessed, thus degrade themselves below many a nation of barbarians and savages.

It is vain to interpret this deification of mortals as only emblematical. Nations, which are without God in the world, are vain in their imaginations and are led on from one error to another, till they become hateful in the sight of God, and dishonor themselves by the vilest abuse of the noble faculties bestowed on them by their Creator. When we see untaught barbarians puffed up with vanity and self conceit, we pity them; but when we see enlightened nations, who possess the means of knowing their own insignificance, exalting themselves before the Most High, our compassion may well be mingled with contempt.

Christianity, though it admits of no boasting before the Judge of all mankind, has been accused of cherishing the spirit of pride and self-complacency, by substituting the grace of God for our own righteousness. Fallible men have extolled, and trusted in their own meritorious deeds, and thought themselves worthy to appear in the presence of him who looks not at the outward conduct merely, but knows the innermost recesses of our hearts, and who cannot behold sin but with abhorrence. Vain delusion this! Vain indeed will it appear at that day, when the eternal sanctity of God shall shine forth in its proper lustre, and when every stain and imperfection of the most holy men that have ever lived shall be clearly seen,

Our brightest ornament in the sight of God is, to be clothed with deep humility. Our great pattern Jesus Christ, "being found in fashion as a man, humbled himself and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross." Let us follow him, that we may not be found naked and forlorn when all the vain glory of this world shall cease to dazzle, and all its pleasures be set at naught.

TRAIT OF THE IMPERIAL CLAN.—The court of general police has represented to the emperor, that the widow Lew-seu only eighteen years of age, applied to their office and stated that her niece, a girl of fifteen years of age, whose father was dead, was persecuted to become his wife by Chang-pa, a powerful man of the clan. It was the duty of her late husband, Ming-show to protect the girl. His consent to sell her was necessary, before Chang-pa could make the purchase. Chang-pa often endeavored to frighten Ming-show into compliance in vain. He then hired vagabonds to seize him, and carry him to his house; which they did, and there bound him and beat him to force him to sign an agreement. Under this usage he made a false promise to refer the matter to the head of the tribe. But the head-man himself was afraid of Chang-pa, and instead of helping the oppressed, joined hands with the oppressor. Chang-pa next armed a number of followers, who entered by violence the house of Ming-show. He run out at a back door, and in his fright threw himself into a well. The crowd of assailants wished to rescue him; but Chang-pa stepped forward and prevented them, and so Ming-show her husband lost his life. Peking, August, 1833.

A HORTATORY COMMAND.—It is difficult to combine an *exhortation* and an *order*; but the government of Canton, to soften the *command* addressed to all householders, requiring them to subscribe for the relief of the sufferers in the last inundation, has prefixed to it the word *exhortation*. This *keuen-yu*, as they call it, has given great dissatisfaction to the people, some of whom have stuck up anonymous placards against the governor and his late colleague, the foo-yuen. In these they sneeringly thank the foo-yuen for his kind wishes, with which however they cannot comply, and intimate that the officers of government devour what they thus extort. They argue that many widows and poor persons who let small houses, have nothing else but the rent to live upon: take from them a month's rent, and they must go without a month's food. Besides, they are scandalized at the official collectors' feasting every day out of the sums collected from the poor subscribers for the relief of the houseless and distressed sufferers. The managers of charity in China, as well as elsewhere, think that charity begins at home; they must have a good dinner and choice wines, when they take care of the affairs of the poor. The hortatory command extends to them who occupy a house of their own. An estimate of its probable rent is made, and that sum demanded.

RELIGIOUS INTELLIGENCE.

SANDWICH ISLANDS.—By the Prussian ship, *Princess Louisa*, which arrived in this port on the 24th ult., we received letters from the islands to the 31st of August; one of them is from the principal of the *High School* at Lahaina. This institution was founded in the summer of 1831. For the first year, the number of scholars was limited to fifty; but it has now increased to near one hundred. Since the language of the islands has been reduced to writing, and incipient measures adopted to instruct the inhabitants, many thousands have been taught to read, and the want of more competent teachers is sensibly felt. A leading object of the high school is to train up native teachers, who being well instructed, may aid the missionaries in their arduous duties, or pursue other occupations as a sense of duty shall direct. "It is also the design of the institution to disseminate sound knowledge throughout the islands; embracing literature and the sciences, and whatever will tend eventually to elevate the natives from their present ignorance, and render them a thinking, enlightened, virtuous people."

We wish the school every success; and hope its directors will, without delay, be enabled "to raise it as high as possible, consistent with the length and breadth of its foundation;" and the principal may be assured that "whatever will please and instruct his pupils," which it is in our power to command, shall be forwarded to him by every con-

venient opportunity. We would not see Chinese ethics transplanted to another soil; but something of Chinese industry as displayed in their husbandry, manufactures, &c., might not be amiss among the Sandwich Islands.

"There is an article on 'persecution' in the July number of the *Repository* for 1832," says a correspondent from the islands, "which purports to have been founded on 'reports' in circulation concerning the 'South Sea islands,' and implying that the chiefs or missionaries have attempted to 'enforce church discipline' upon the people generally. Now as to the Sandwich islands, the rulers, as such, have not attempted to enforce church discipline even on church members, much less on those who are not members of the church. And the missionaries surely have not attempted to enforce church discipline on any but members of the church; the doors of which they have ever guarded with great care to prevent multitudes rushing in, who were ready to be baptized, and to take on them the vows of the covenant.—at least, many who proclaimed themselves to be thus ready, but whom we feared were not truly born of the spirit. In all the islands, only 669 have been admitted to church-membership."

Missionary Seminary at Batticotta, Ceylon.—This institution has been in operation about ten years, and has thus far fully

answered the expectations of its founders. It was called into existence by the wants of the people in that and adjoining districts—wants which are felt in perhaps an equal degree in every part of western Asia. These wants may not indeed be known to those who are the subjects of them. The palsy of intellect is too complete for that. The moral disease—as progressed till there is not life enough left to enable the people to perceive what their wants are. But they are seen and felt by those who know what men are capable of being and enjoying, and who wish to see these nations rising to an intellectual and moral equality with the nations of the west.

The object of the institution is to give some of the most promising youth selected from the mission schools in the surrounding country a thorough education. This the founders justly regarded as the surest means of freeing the minds of such youth as might come under their instruction from the errors in philosophy, morals, and religion, which have from time immemorial prevailed among their countrymen; and of preparing them to become teachers of others.

The principal building belonging to the institution is Otley Hall; so called in honor of sir Richard Otley, who contributed liberally for its erection. It is 64 feet in length by 29 in breadth, built of hewn stone. It is completely surrounded by a verandah, and contains four large rooms for library, lectures, and public examinations, and several smaller ones for other purposes. The whole necessary

expenses of a native student, tuition, library, &c. being gratis, do not exceed \$30 per annum; connected with the seminary, is a *preparatory* school, the object of which is sufficiently indicated by its name.

The course of study is liberal and well calculated to effect its object as stated above. Of this, the following list of books used by the several classes in 1831, is a sufficient proof.

“First class, 17 students. Lennie’s grammar and exercises; Blair’s lectures on rhetoric; Porteus’ evidences of Christianity; Euclid through the 4th book; Blair’s grammar of natural philosophy through optics; translating, declamation, and composition; and Tamul classics.

“Second class, 18 students. Woodbridge’s geography; Lennie’s grammar; Euler and Bonnycastle’s algebra; Mental arithmetic (reviewing); Tamul and English phrases; Euclid 1st book; Pronouncing Testament; Tamul grammar of the high language, and Tamul classics.

“Third class 18, and fourth class 30 students. Lennie’s grammar; Colburn and Joyce’s arithmetics through logarithms; phrases; Native arithmetic; first lessons in astronomy; writing in English; New Testament and English tracts.—All the classes attended to the study of the Bible in connexion with chronology.”

Special attention is paid to the subjects of geography, natural philosophy, and astronomy, on account of the connexion of the native systems with the mythology and superstitions of the Ceylonese. According to the Skanda Purana, one of their

sacred books, which is used, very much to the terror of the priesthood as a classic in the seminary, "The earth is flat, one thousand millions of *yosany* (or 2,000,000,000 miles) in diameter, one hundred thousand *yosany* from the sun, and twice this distance from the moon, and remains immovably fixed. It is the opinion even of the best informed among the natives, that these things were not ascertained by human investigation, but are matters of pure revelation; sanctioned, however, by the testimony of all antiquity; consequently whatever militates against this system, is to be rejected as false, if not profane."

With the help of a valuable apparatus, procured in England, the principal has succeeded in convincing not only the students generally, but also many others who are usually present at the public examinations, and occasionally attend his lectures, of the incorrectness of the systems taught in their sacred books. The truth is made so plain that its evidence cannot be resisted, unless it be by a determination not to be convinced, which will not yield even to the evidence of sight. The effect desired is produced. Their confidence in those books, and consequently in the gods from whom they were supposed to have been received, is shaken, and in some cases entirely overthrown. A spirit of inquiry is awakened and the native intellect begins to be in motion. Those who are accounted learned men begin to tremble for their reputation, and the priests for their credit and support. The people

begin to think, to distinguish truth from error, and free themselves from the chains of superstition and bigotry in which their fathers were held. This is to be attributed in no small degree to the wise policy which gave the institution a character truly and decidedly Christian; and has led its instructors to use every proper means for bringing the truths of the gospel to bear upon the minds of the students with all their force. They are not satisfied when they have convinced their pupils of the truth of Christianity, nor even when they see evidence of their real piety. They endeavor to inspire them with the same spirit of active benevolence which dwelt in the bosom of him who "went about doing good," and which is the distinguishing characteristic of real Christianity. A large proportion of them spend a part or the whole of their vacations in going from village to village, and from house to house, and by conversation, reading the scriptures, and the distribution of tracts on various subjects, correcting the errors of their countrymen, and communicating to them the knowledge they have obtained at the seminary; and some usually spend a part of every day in such labors.

Let this system continue in operation a few years more, and the sacred books and the Brahmans will lose their influence, truth take the place of error, and virtue and happiness succeed to vice and misery. In these anticipations we are not alone. So long ago as 1824, sir Richard Otley, then governor of Ceylon, after attending an examination and testifying his

approbation by a *very liberal donation*, remarked, "I entertain much more sanguine hopes of the progress of civilization among the natives, than I did previously to witnessing the examination." Sir R. usually attended the annual examinations, at the close of which he addressed the members of the seminary and their parents and friends who were present, sometimes distributed rewards to the most deserving of the students, and in various other ways rendered important aid to the institution as long as he remained on the island; and at his departure promised to recommend it to the favorable consideration of the British government. A happy instance of the union of rank and influence with decided and efficient piety; such as we ardently desire to see exemplified by those who bear the christian name in every other land.

Sir Robert W. Horton, the present governor, is no less favorably disposed towards the seminary. The last examination of which we have received any account, was attended by him and lady Horton, together with a large assembly of the ladies and gentlemen of Colombo. The students were prepared to be examined in theology, English reading and grammar, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, geography, arithmetic, algebra, geometry, and trigonometry. His excellency selected passages from the classics used by the students in which they were examined. Their reading, parsing, and answers to questions proposed, were in general highly creditable to themselves and their instructors, and seemed to

give great satisfaction to the highly respectable audience.

We have watched the progress of this institution with the greater interest, because we believe that the work of arousing the Ceylonese, and every people in this part of the world, from their comparatively stupid state, and of effecting the needed reformation in their character and conduct, must be done chiefly by natives. We recollect no instance in which a great reformation has been effected among any people by foreign influence alone. Foreigners may, and often do, bring into a country the knowledge which rouses the native mind to activity, and thus give the first impulse to the agency which changes a nation of savages or pagans into an enlightened and christian people. But to give this impulse is all that can be expected from abroad. This is all that we expect will be done for the Chinese by those foreigners who are interested in their moral and religious improvement; and it is all that needs to be done. When all the great truths in science and religion which have made western nations what they are, shall have been fairly brought to the knowledge of a comparatively small number of the Chinese, and they shall have been led, like the members of the Batticotta seminary, by the influence of those truths to put forth the energies of their minds for the instruction of their countrymen; then the great object of our desire will be near its accomplishment; then China will soon be delivered from her ignorance, bigotry, and superstition, and the evils which they

produce and perpetuate; and her sons and daughters be seen walking in the paths of knowledge and holiness.

ROMAN CATHOLICS IN MACAO. Two or three months ago we heard it rumored, that his excellency, the Portuguese governor of Macao, had determined that all the catholic priests in that settlement, who were not the subjects of his catholic majesty, should, on an appointed day, (15th inst,) leave the place. We doubted this rumor at first, but it has proved to be true. Four of the priests, and no doubt the true and faithful subjects of his

holiness, have accordingly quit Macao; three of these are Frenchmen, the other is a native of Italy, and agent for the *Congregatio de propaganda fide* at Rome. How his excellency can reconcile this conduct with the catholic principles of Christianity, or even justify himself to the pope and the other high authorities of Europe, we are unable to conjecture. But of this we are confident, that such a procedure cannot be supported on christian principles, and that it must and will be condemned as unfriendly, uncharitable, and unjust by enlightened and liberal minded men of every name and denomination.

JOURNAL OF OCCURRENCES.

CANTON.—During the month, an imperial messenger has visited the government here to bring an official intimation of the late empress' remains having been deposited in the imperial mausoleum. This messenger wore only a gold button, which indicates the lowest rank; but in honor of his master, the governor went down on his knees and knocked his head nine times on the earth, whilst the other stood erect on the bow of his boat. This envoy brought, it is said, a request from a royal personage in Peking, to a hong merchant who had formerly sought his patronage, that he would procure for him a pair of gold wash hand-basins.

SYCEE SILVER AND DOLLARS.—From the province of Che-keang, a representation has been made to the emperor, stating that sycee silver was exported from the country for the purchase of opium, &c., but that no law existed for the punishment of the offense; moreover there was some jobbing in playing foreign dollars and sycee silver against each other, by which the price of silver was enhanced, as best suited the interests of the jobbers.

By his majesty's order, the criminal board deliberated on the subject, and

decided that the exportation of "yellow gold and white silver" should be punished in the same manner as the clandestine exportation of rice or other grains. The board recommended that the trade with foreigners should be in the way of barter, goods for goods; but in the term white silver, they would not include "foreign money," or dollars; since the dollars were imported, they might also be exported without detriment to the metals of the country.

Against this decision Hwang-tsootsze, censor of the province of Fuh-keen, has protested. He says, "the people are pleased with dollars for their convenience in counting; they are of value also for the facility of transport, and for use where sycee is extravagantly high, as dollars can be made of an inferior touch. On these accounts, dollars are made from sycee silver by crafty merchants in Canton, Fuh-keen, Keang-se and Keang-soo, similar to the foreign dollars; so that if dollars apparently foreign may be exported with impunity, all the sycee silver in China, may be converted into dollars, and thus sent abroad without any crime. The new law, he says, prohibits the export of sycee with one hand, and permits it with the other. He begs the emperor to prohibit by

penalty the coining of dollars, as he does the secret coining of *cash*; and as rice and money are so different in value while the same in bulk, that he should accordingly increase in the same proportion the punishment for exporting silver. Otherwise the treasure of the land will go forth to feed the cupidity of barbarians, and injure China for myriads of years. The export of copper and iron affects only military weapons, but that of silver touches the vitals of the emperor.

JEALOUSY OF THE CHINESE GOVERNMENT.—Two nobles of one of the tributary Tartar tribes, employed in attendance on the emperor at Peking, had lately to return to their native tribe, to sacrifice to the manes of a deceased prince. On their way back, feeling a desire to see new places, they left the ordinary route outside of the great wall, and proceeded to Peking through Shen-se and the other provinces immediately south of the wall;—defraying all charges themselves, in place of expending the traveling allowances to which they were entitled, on the usual outside route. For this they have fallen under the imperial displeasure, and the military tribunal is directed to deliberate regarding the punishment of their demerit.

GAME LAWS OF TARTARY.—The wild horses and cattle of the Manchou forests are, like the ginseng which also grows there, considered the property of government; and to hunt these cattle is prohibited to every one who is not employed by government for the purpose. It has however been found impossible to prevent the constant infringement of the laws, and therefore it is to be taken off in some places, but retained in others. By this change the government still retains in fact the monopoly: for as the frequent hunts in the free lands will drive the cattle into the government forests, the people will rarely be able to maintain the hunt with success.

The *Kwang-chow-foo*, whose name is *kin*, or gold, is in very bad odor among the people of Canton. The late *foo-yuen Choo* forced him upon his predecessor *Hoo*, who died of vexation; and now he is placarded in the streets, and even against his own office. One of these placards now before us,

accuses him of having taken three sisters to be his wives without any of the formalities that law and custom require; and of making two thousand taels of silver the price of every favorable decision.

PEKING. We have received the gazettes to the 8th of the 9th moon, October 20th; the recent numbers contain very little that is interesting to foreigners. We have looked them all over, but have found nothing to repay the trouble. The military governor of the "nine gates of Peking," continually reports cases of theft, robbery, assault, sodomy and rape, such as in other nations are managed by officers of the police, or inferior judges.

On the 27th of the 8th moon, he reported the apprehension of a band of vagabonds, who had committed all these crimes, and who endeavored to escape being detected by pretending that they were officers of government patrolling the streets at night.

In another gazette a case of *parricide* is recorded. The deceased was a Manchou, who belonged to the Hanlin college. The son says, he was at home superintending the worship of tablets dedicated to heaven and earth, when his father having neglected to give orders, he omitted to burn incense at the proper time. The father, then in front of the tablet, used abusive language to the son; who in a fit of passion seized a billet of wood and broke his father's skull. He then dragged the body into the street, intending to make some pretext to screen himself from the charge of murder, but was seen and apprehended.

On another occasion eight individuals were seized for having propagated heterodox opinions and formed associations.

A member of the imperial family has petitioned government to seize his rebellious and vicious son, in order to send him to Manchou Tartary, and shut him up in perpetual confinement.

Delinquencies of Chinese Officers. His majesty has recently been very much displeased at the carelessness of many of his officers who have charge of the seals of government. Four cases have come before him this year, wherein the parties lost the keys of the boxes in which the seals were kept.

